tribes, and have on that account often been obliged to change the seat of their villages. 105

"Yet they have often been quarreling with the Ricaras, who like them are agricultural people; and they often make predatory expeditions against the Shoshones, in the eastern valleys of the Rocky mountains. Both the Mandans and the Minnetaries consider themselves as natives of that part of the country.

"The tradition of the Mandans is that they came from under 173
ground by means of a great vine, which, breaking under the weight of some of them, has left behind a part of their nation, whom they expect to join after death. The color of the chief who visited Washington appeared less dark than that of our Indians, 142
and he was the only full-breed Indian ever seen by me, whose eyes were of a bluish cast. It is believed that this is the tribe, often spoken of as White Indians, and which gave rise to the fabulous account of a tribe descended from the Welsh and speaking their language, a tale which the knowledge we have now acquired of the various Indian nations and of their dialects has set at rest.

"The vocabulary of the stationary Minetaries and the specimen 197
of the Crow of Upsaroka dialect were obtained by Dr. Say. We knew from Lewis and Clarke that the Mandans spoke a kindred dialect, and this has been confirmed by the significant names of their chiefs, subscribed to a treaty with the United States. Lewis and Clarke appear to have considered the Rapid, Fall or Paunch Indians, sometimes also called the "Minetaries of the Prairies," as belonging to the same family. But all the subsequent accounts agree in assigning to them an entirely distinct language." (P. 125.)

The above reference to the "chief who visited Washington" (Big White) is from Albert Gallatin.

We will here refer to the note by Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson 174
on the Mandans, found among his notes on "Historical Sketch of North and South Dakota," by Dr. William M. Blackburn, in Hist. Coll., S. D., Vol. I, page 98, being a very concise and creditable summary of the tribe. In that note Dr. Robinson affirms that "their traditions give their former abode as being about the headwaters of Lake Winnipeg. It is probable that they were driven from their homes at Lake Winnipeg about 1680 by the Crees and Assiniboines, both powerful tribes which about this period came into possession of firearms. Their first stopping place, after being driven out by their enemies, was on the Mis-

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648 lower village brought down four of the Sharhas. We explained to them our intentions, and advised them to remain at peace with each other; we also gave them a flag, some tobacco, and a speech for their nation. These were accompanied by a letter to Messrs. Tabeau and Gravelines at the Ricara village, requesting them to preserve peace if possible, and to declare the part which we should be forced to take if the Ricaras and Sioux made war on those whom we had adopted. After distributing a few presents to the Sharhas and Mandans, and showing them our curiosities, we dismissed them, apparently well pleased at their reception." (id 187.)

Mandan Religion—Origin. "Tuesday, 4th. Oscapsaee and 776 two young chiefs passed the day with us. The whole religion 782 of the Mandans consists in the belief of one great spirit presiding over their destinies. This being must be in the nature of a good genius, since it is associated with the healing art, and the great spirit is synonymous with the great medicine, a name also applied to every thing which they do not understand. Each individual selects for himself the particular object of his devotion, which is termed his medicine, and is either some invisible being or more commonly some animal, which henceforward becomes his protector or his intercessor with the great spirit; to propitiate whom every attention is lavished, and every personal consideration is sacrificed. 'I was lately owner of seventeen horses,' said a Mandan to us one day, 'but I have offered them all up to my medicine, and am now poor.' He had in reality taken all his wealth, his horses, into the plain, and turning them loose, committed them to the care of his medicine, and abandoned them forever. The horses, less religious, took care of themselves, and the 775 pious votary traveled home on foot. Their belief in a future state is connected with this tradition of their origin; the whole nation 773 resided in one large village under ground, near a subterraneous lake; a grape vine extended its roots down to their habitation, and gave them a view of the light; some of the most adventurous climbed up the vine, and were delighted with the sight of the earth, which they found covered with buffalo and rich with every kind of fruits; returning with the grapes they had gathered, their countrymen were so pleased with the taste of them that the whole nation resolved to leave their dull residence for the charms

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of the upper region; men, women and children ascended by 775 means of the vine; but when about half the nation had reached the surface of the earth, a corpulent woman, who was clambering 773● up the vine, broke it with her weight, and closed upon herself and the rest of the nation the light of the sun. Those who were left on earth made a village below, where we saw the nine villages; and when the Mandans die they expect to return to the original seats of their forefathers; the good reaching the ancient village by means of the lake, which the burdens of the sins of the wicked will not enable them to cross." (id 191.)

Buffalo Chase. "Friday, December 7th. The wind still continued 224 from the northwest, and the day is very cold. Shahaka, the chief of the lower village, came to apprise us that the buffalo were near, and that his people were waiting for us to join them in the chase. Captain Clarke with fifteen men went out and found the Indians engaged in killing the buffalo, the hunters mounted on horseback and armed with bows and arrows encircled the herd, and gradually drive them into a plain or an open place fit for the movements of horse; they then ride in among them, and singling out a buffalo, a female being preferred, go as close as possible and wound her with arrows till they think they have given the mortal stroke; then they pursue another till the quiver is exhausted. If, which rarely happens, the wounded buffalo attacks the hunter, he evades his blow by the agility of his horse, which is trained for the combat with great dexterity. When they have killed the requisite number they collect their game, and the squaws and attendants come up from the rear and skin and dress the animals. Captain Clarke killed ten buffalo, of which only five were brought to the fort, the rest, which could not be conveyed home, being seized by the Indians, among whom the custom is, that whenever a buffalo is found dead without an arrow, or any particular mark, he is the property of the finder; so that often a hunter secures scarcely any of the game he kills, if the arrow happens to fall off; whatever is left out at night falls to the share of the wolves, who are the constant and numerous attendants of the buffalo." (id 193.)

Mandan Games. "Wednesday, 19th. The weather moderated, 524 and the river rose a little, so that we were unable to continue the picketing of the fort. Notwithstanding the extreme cold, we

778 gether. It has somewhat the appearance of a large barrel, and is emblematic of the ark in which, according to Mandan mythology, the sole survivor of the deluge was saved. The square, the medicine-lodge, with its four poles in front, surmounted by sacrificial effigies, and the ark, as they may be seen at Fort Berthold today, seem to be the almost exact counterparts of those which were seen in the old Mandan village at Fort Clarke, in 1832 and 1833, by George Catlin and the Prince of New-Wied, if we are to judge by the drawings they have given us. Within the temple and around the ark, the Mandans still perform the ceremony of the Okeepa, which Catlin so accurately describes. The awful severities of the rites have, however, been somewhat mitigated since his day."

000 **Aricaree Medicine-Lodge.** "The medicine-lodges of the Aricarees is larger than that of the Mandans, and is used for a greater variety of ceremonies. Some of these performances, consisting of ingenious tricks of jugglery and dances, representative of various hunts, we might be inclined to call theatrical rather than religious. Probably these Indians consider them both worshipful and entertaining.

"It is often hard to tell how much of a religious ceremony is intended to propitiate the unknown powers, and how much to please the spectators."

712 **Fortifications—Stockades.** "Many travelers have described their towns as being fortified, sometimes with walls, but usually with ditches and stockades, or with stockades alone. The latter system of defense was in use at the village of Fort Berthold until the winter of 1865, when they cut down the palisades for firewood; and they have never since restored them. The presence of United States troops in their neighborhood, and the growing weakness of the Dakotas, were probably the causes which led them to discontinue their fortifications."

•773 Matthews virtually bears out Catlin concerning the mythical veneration of the Mandans for the corn symbol:

243 **Agriculturalists—"Corn Mother."** "The Aricarees and Man-
174 dans have doubtlessly tilled the soil for many centuries. Their accounts of the origin of corn are mingled with their earliest myths and traditions. There are some reasons for believing that the Aricarees represent an older race of farmers than the Man-

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dans; for their religious ceremonies connected with planting are 773 the more numerous, and they honor the corn with a species of 243 worship. In every Aricaree lodge, there is a large ear of corn, 174 which has lasted for generations, sticking out of the mouth of a medicine-bag. At their feasts, they make offerings to the corn by rubbing a piece of meat on it, while they pray to it for plentiful harvests, and address it by the name of 'mother.' The Hidatsas claim to have had no knowledge of corn until they first ate it from the trenchers of the Mandans; and they have no important ceremonies connected with the harvesting, yet they cultivated it long before the advent of the white man." (p. 12.)

"Three Tribes" at Berthold—From South Dakota. "When 361 Lewis and Clarke ascended the Missouri, in 1804, they found four tribes of agricultural Indians, numerous and prosperous, inhabit- 177 ing the upper Missouri valley, west of the Dakota nation. They had eight permanently inhabited towns, others which they lived in only temporarily, and a number more which they had abandoned and allowed to go to ruin. They are spoken of in Lewis and Clarke's journal as the 'Ricaras,' 'Mandans,' 'Minnetarees,' and 'Ahnahaways.' All that are left of the four tribes are now gathered together in this one village, at Fort Berthold, which does not probably number 2,500 souls. The remains, now nearly obliterated, of their old towns, may be traced on nearly every prairie terrace adjacent to the Missouri, along six hundred miles of its course, from the mouth of the Lower White-Earth to the mouth of the Little Missouri. The Indians at Fort Berthold are, however, now generally referred to as the 'three tribes'; for one of the nations spoken of by Captain Lewis—that which he calls Ahnahaways—is no longer an organized tribe, but has been merged into the Minnetarees." (p. 12.)

"Mandan"—Previous History. "The Mandans, about a 167 hundred years ago, lived in several villages near the mouth of Heart river. From this neighborhood, they moved up the Missouri, stopping and building villages at different localities. In 1804, they were found dwelling in two towns about four miles below the mouth of Knife river. One of these towns was named Metutahanke, Metutahankish, or, as Maximilian writes it, 'Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kusch,' meaning lower village. The other was called Ruptari or Nuptadi. They were almost exterminated by the

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231 properly, will enrich them, a scrub lean steer being as valuable in their eyes as a fat, blooded one. These Indians are virtually self-supporting, as they receive very little from the government." (Wheeler, p. 224.)

361 Wheeler here notes the reason why the upper of the two Mandan villages proper near Knife river, which stood on the northeast bank of the Missouri in 1804, was found on the southwest bank in 1833:

Apparently Crossed River. "The five villages mentioned by Lewis and Clarke in 1804, were still in existence in 1833, when Maximilian visited these Indians. One important change had, he states, occurred. The Missouri river had characteristically changed its channel and in Maximilian's day flowed on the eastern side of Rooptahee, or Ruhptare, the second Mandan town of our narrative, so that both the Mandan villages were then on the western south bank."

•773 **Mandans and Hidatsas.** "The tradition relating to the origin of the Mandans given by Lewis and Clarke, according to Dr. Matthews, relates, not only to the Mandans, but to the Hidatsa as well. This tradition, I find, is current at the present day and the lake from which the tribe emerged is said to be Minnewakan, or Devil's Lake in North Dakota, the Hidatsa name for this lake—Midihopa—meaning sacred or mysterious water. Dr. Matthews thinks that 'one nation borrowed its legend from the other,' so that both have a common source." (Wheeler, p. 228.)

771 797 **Polytheism.** "These people had a belief in a 'Great Spirit,' or 'Old Man Immortal,' or 'Great Mystery,' and Dr. Matthews discusses it quite fully in his paper. Their ancient belief appears to have been, on the whole, a species of Polytheism. Religious missionary work on the Fort Berthold reservation began in 1876, and since then there has been a marked change in their religious ideas. The leaven acted but slowly at first, but when its results were apparent it seemed to work with cumulative effect. 'Only a small minority of the people now hold to the wreck of their old paganism.' Carlisle, Santee, and other schools have had their influence in producing this uplift. The younger generations see things with a new and broader vision and their moral and religious notions are cast in a new mold." (Wheeler, p. 229.)

797 Wheeler quotes as follows from Rev. C. L. Hall, the Congrega-

621 124 miles west of the site of Old Fort Berthold, is yet known as the Fort Berthold Indian agency, and all of the instrumentalities of the agency, including an Indian school, were centered there, although the agency had been officially discontinued June 30, 1904. But, as stated in Part I of this paper in the account of the Aricarees, the Indians themselves were so completely separated from each other as forming tribal communities as to have erased all semblance of their former tribal relations, and had in fact taken lands in severalty and become citizens. The writer was able to interview but two Mandans in the brief time covered by his visit to that quarter, and was obliged to cross the Missouri and seek them on the southwesterly side of that stream at a point some seven miles below the mouth of the Little Missouri. Through the solicitude of Rev. Hall, and of Hon. Anzi W. Thomas, late Indian agent, an interpreter, who was assistant farmer at the agency, was furnished the writer in connection with the interviews of the Indians Bear's Ghost and Little Owl—two Mandans who were pointed out by Rev. Hall and others as likely to be able to impart information concerning the traditions of their tribe, though neither was an old man; nor was it possible to find an aged member of the tribe near the agency headquarters. Furthermore, there seemed to be no very old member of the former band or tribe within the reservation who was conspicuous as the possessor of the tribal history and traditions in an eminent degree. However, those who were interviewed were evidently equipped to intelligently communicate the seemingly common story of the creation, the flood, etc., as it was understood by the Mandans.

•773 "It will be seen that these Indians had no definite information in the nature of tradition as to their origin; but there runs through the narrative an unmistakable thread of marine experience in passing from somewhere beyond the sea or the Mississippi into the interior; as found in the account of the boat 'without the oars'—(indicating, it is believed, sailing vessels)—the 'other Mandans' who came from 'down under the earth,' the first or 'lone man' who while wandering met the 'Coyote' from the south and together they fashioned the whole landscape, made the inhabitants of earth and air; while the 'Corn Mother' who was revered as the symbol of germination and growth, the buffaloes representing the four seasons, the ducks which brought earth from under

●773 the water, etc., these and kindred phases of the mythology which is the sole back-ground of their tribal past, make up the substance of the strange narratives unfolded, through the moderate abilities of the interpreter, Joseph Packineau, son of Charles Pactineaude or Pattineaux of the fur-trading days, to the writer.

142 "While there was nothing specially marked about the appearance of Little Owl, we can not refrain from remarking that Bear's Ghost made a distinct impression by his bearing and the manner of his speech. He was one of the most perfect specimens of the commanding physical man we ever observed. His figure was tall and lithe, his eye exceptionally bright, intelligent and winning, his voice soft yet animating; his speech was accompanied by such grace of attitude and fitting gestures as to captivate the listener. His complexion was much lighter than that of the Sioux Indian of the Dakotas, yet not as fair as to relieve his countenance from the general impress of Indian lineage. There was, however, less than usual of the more salient Indian features in high or prominent cheek-bones and roughness of contour. He appeared, in a word, the perfect gentleman and master of expression, and it was difficult to realize that an Indian was discoursing or narrating. His entire attitude was that of intelligent handling of his subject and of utter absence of any sense of inferiority. Sincerity, and a desire to emphasize the point that what he said was truth itself—these elements gave character to his narrative. And while much that he recounted seemed trival and fantastic, yet the air in which it was told gave his story the cast of respect if not of persuasion. We here repeat what has been said before in this paper—that it is believed it is not improbable that the reference to the vine and the under-world was derived from the tradition of the Gros Ventres or Minnetarees who probably came to the Missouri from the Devil's Lake region.

"Little Owl's account will be first given, as it was obtained first. It is seen that if his narrative and that of Bear's Ghost is given credence the Mandans came up the Missouri and from the lower Mississippi."

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539 **Little Owl's Account—The Creation, Etc.** "The five villages below the Knife river. Bear-on-the-Water and he is the oldest man, he says they came from the—where the Mississippi empties in the sea; after that I can't give you an account of it. They

•773 539 had a long boat and they didn't have any oars, and the only thing they did was to get in and told the boat to go—they named it 'The Go.' The boat carried any number except seven; they wouldn't let seven ride, because the boat didn't go right, and gets wicked. They could go across the sea without the oars, they just told the boat to go. That is when they lived at the mouth of the river and the boat was in the sea. The boat would go anywhere on the water, up-stream or anywhere. There was some Indians on the other side of the sea, when the Mandans—and they go with the boat there and bring the sea shells from the other side of the sea, and the Mandans were there and part of them on this side. This boat travels without oars. So that one day Bad Boy went along and the boat was standing there on the river bank, and Bad Boy told the boat to go, and the boat went and they have never seen the boat since. Then they moved up this way; of course they called the Mississippi the Big River, and this is called the Missouri river; and they came along and in villages that you see at places, at the Mandans, from the mouth of the sea up here. The Rees have villages too; they had villages down by the Cannon-Ball and maybe further. These Mandans came all the way up to Heart river. They came up the Mississippi and up the Missouri to Heart river. Back of the Heart river they called it the Middle Hole, that is where they came from, the other Mandans. They was down in the earth and the Mandans were there; and one young man, he goes by the name of Magpie, he is a spirit, and he finds the light upon the hill up there, and he saw where the vine went up clear up to this earth here, top of the earth, so he climbed up there till he came out this way, and he see the country and the timbers and springs and grass and the games (game), and he killed some game and he took the sinews and some meat and some other part of the hide of the animal and took them down below where the others were and showed them what a nice country there was up here, and they would all go up there; and then he says 'All right, that is the place to go,' and this man took him and showed him, and then the chief says 'All right, we'll go;' and he sent all the Holy Spirit, they got the Holy Spirit, they sent them up first, and they took it up by following this vine, and each friend goes up—climbs up by himself, they go up there night and day right along, till they were about

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half of them went up, and then the woman came along, she was big, and the people forbid her, and said she better come last, and the woman says 'No, I have a right to go just as well as anybody,' and she got hold of the vine and get up a little ways towards the top and broke the vine, so they—part of them are down in the earth yet; and it is a good many is here, and some of them we grow; some of my father's ancestors away back came from the earth. The vine was below here, at the Middle Hole."

The First Man. "There is a man—when this earth was no grass, no wood, nothing at all on top, just bare earth—and a man was walking along, and when he walked along and after a while he woke up, and he says 'I wonder where I come from,' all at once; then he turned around and looked at his track, the track was a buffalo track; so the man thought he must know where he come from and he followed his trail back, and then the grass was grown up and had some large white flowers on them, then another nice little fly was sitting on the flower, and the man thought this must be 'I come from here,' his tracks come from where that grass and flower is, and he looked around and he couldn't see any tracks, and the grass spoke and says 'I am the person that sent you up, the Lone Man,' that is the name they gave him, Lone Man. The little fly says to him 'We are the ones that sent you.' At the time that this man went away he had a lance block and he had his pipe when this beginning, to fix the country with, and rules with those things in the country he makes, that is, his commandments. So the Lone Man went off traveling and he met Mr. Coyote Chief, and the Lone Man thought 'I wonder where this man come from, I thought I was the only man in this world in here,' and he met this man and shook hands with him and he says 'Where you come from?' and he told him where he come from, and he says 'Where you come from too?' and Lone Man says 'I am the oldest, you will be my brother but I am the oldest, I will be the one to rule the country,' and the Coyote says 'No, I am the oldest, I will be the one to rule this country, you follow me.' So he says 'We'll go'—Coyote says 'You fix the country, you fix the north and I'll fix the south.' So they went on to fix the coulies and springs and rivers and timber and everything, and the bad lands; Coyote he made the mountains, the narrow places and more bad lands and more springs and more coulies and every-

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thing so the Indians could get their arrows, and short distance for shooting, and Lone Man he makes the north, makes so many lakes, there is no timber, a flat country, nothing but a prairie, and he couldn't be seen anywheres for long distances, and no guiding place and no nothing; and he made some springs in the country, and made timber up away back, and when he makes it timber he makes a big body of timber, and then he goes along the prairie again for miles and miles and makes timber the same way. Then he makes game, buffalo all colors, like tame cattle, with white horns. Then the Coyote he made these buffalos; and after they got through they counted the head (or meat); and he says, the first thing he asked—Coyote asked of the Lone Man 'What kind of buffalo you make?' he says 'I make some gray, some white, some red and black and white horns, and all colors and long tails.' Coyote says 'You make them long, what buffalo I make it is the kind of buffalo you won't make.' So Coyote says 'I made only one white buffalo, makes them once in a while, they'll be pretty hard to get,' so it would be of more value to the Indians for their robe. So he says—Lone Man says 'All right, I'll drive back what I made into the sea, and some of these days when the rule comes to an end when our buffalo are all gone, what I make people will live on it forever.' So this Lone Man afterwards, after he got through he knew the Mandans was in the Middle Hole and he knew those on the other side of the sea, and he knew those on this side of the mouth of the river that empties into the sea; and then he looked all over the tribes and he thought that the Mandans were the quietest and best characters, and he joined in with them and staid with them. So he advised everything that is good."

The Holy Man. "He was the Holy Man, sent on with the Holy Spirit, and a man, something like the whites that believe in Christ, he was a good character, and he didn't have anything to do with women or no wife of any kind; so the other Coyote and Rees—he makes a good country and good things, but on the other hand he was not as good as Lone Man; so they didn't take his advice but they took Lone Man's advice. He has a pipe, they got his pipe today, and they got his lance block, and they believe in him. So the Mandans they lived on Heart river. That name is by reason that right there where the Mandans is they called the

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river the Heart river, that is in the middle, from where you go 773
from there to the south to the sea, and east the same distance, and 539
north and west the same distance—right in the middle there, and so they called it the Heart."

The Middle Hole. "The first man (named above as being on the water), his ancestors came from the mouth of the river, and my ancestors and all other Mandans came from the Middle Hole."

Went to Winnipeg. "My father was Hit-him-in-the-Back; I was born in Ft. Berthold; am forty years old. My father was born in the Five Villages away down the river. The Five Villages was about ninety years ago. They lived there right after the smallpox was there. The villages down the Missouri river through South Dakota and to the Mississippi, that had ditches around them, were Mandan villages. The Rees have villages down here this side (north) of the Cheyenne river, just about there. They had five villages too. I don't know how far south of the Cheyenne they had villages. The Mandans grow as a people, and there are so many people and each one has a head man and chief; and they have taken their places all over, and one of the villages has gone at that time to the north to Winnipeg, and during that time one of the villages has gone again—one of the villages which the chief controls has gone; and the chief is called Tattooed Face and he has great control over the people and the largest village; and no one could tell where he went to those people. So this Winnipeg went over there, and five brothers, four of them goes in this spirit in the buffalo bulls—they were buffalo, and the youngest brother, the fifth one was a magpie, and their mother was Corn. So they went away to the north here where the Winnipegs were, and in the large timber there. they had their village there. They started from her, this side of Bismarck; and so Magpie goes out and roams around the country, and he comes back, and all his brothers were sitting and eating and laughing and enjoying themselves and plenty to eat and everything, and he sat down and he says 'My brothers, there's hard times coming:' so the August Buffalo Bull and the Fall Bull and the March Bull and the June Bull—so the August Bull said 'There's no hard times here' before he asked any questions—each one of the chiefs represents three months—so he says 'I call any of the buffalo, at the call buffalo they come in all the houses here, the children

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have plenty to eat, when the fall comes the Fall Chief calls the buffalo, and when winter comes the Winter Bull calls them,' etc. He says 'Our mother Corn Woman will plant corn on the rocks and it will grow anywheres;' so the boy Magpie he showed up. Then Magpie he has power too, he says 'I want to move to the Missouri river, I don't want to stay here in the north.' Then he got the old crier out to say that those men were going to move and that these people must go; so he brings back about half of the people—half of a village. Then he came over here to Bird's Bill at Fort Rice. And then it came to the winter, and then the buffalos and the north wind laps them, blow and storm, and they are starving; and they sent Jack Rabbit over there to Magpie's village to see how he was getting along, and they gave him two sunflower seed, so he had some of them take it back. 'They aint starving,' he said, 'They are all right;' and they took their buffalo robes and painted it right and left to hang up, so it looks like flesh, and they were kind of starving too, so he deceived them; all these buffalo robes kept all the buffalos away from him, so he deceived him. So Jack Rabbit told them 'You had better burn up the old wooden pans, etc., and call Lone Man, you are in hard shape.' So he did hallo for Lone Man, and Lone Man didn't come but sent Chinook Wind and drove all the cold away, and it kept going to the north and they are all right. So about one year from that time a flood came there and wiped out all of the houses on the north to Winnipeg, and there was a great big lodge of four of the Bulls—his brother on top of the lodge—and he came in there and says 'You said there was no hard time,' the one that spoke before he spoke first again, he says 'Why, you must have your heart just like a bone, you never told us this,' and Magpie says 'I tried to tell you about the hard times but you never gave me any show, no person could explain it to you, all you depend on you call buffalo, you don't look to other things.' 'Where's my mother?' he says. 'Your mother is right down straight here in the ground, she can't come, but she will if you want her.' And she says 'My son, are you here?' 'Yes, mother, but wait a while till I call you.' Then he went to work and pulled the bull's hair up on the top of his head to make a string to tie them like a loup, and when he got through—'Now,' he says 'I am ready, now you come, mother.' And she came up on

the ear of yellow corn, she shot up like that—"(indicating)," and he got hold of her and put that string loup around her. When he comes up he got her around the neck and hung it down cross-ways, and they started to swim to the river. They had an awful long swim and got overe here back half way to Winnipeg, and he drowned first, and the August Bull drowned and the Winter Bull he drowned, two of them. The second Bull says 'There will be plenty of buffalo here when I am gone.' So the Fall Buffalo drowned, the third. And the Spring Buffalo he landed in Bird's Bill, he was the strongest and saved his mother that he was carrying on his neck—and she was turned to be an ear of corn.

"My grandfather was Yellow Tail. He was born on the Heart river I suppose. My grandfather, they knew him in the Five Villages when he was a real old man.

"This story that I tell you came from my father and grandfather and the old people of my tribe. I am a full-blooded Mandan."

Below is the account of the Mandans given by Bear's Ghost:

Bear's Ghost's Narrative. "I am a full blooded Mandan. Age 47; born this side of Knife river, what they call Manhanen, on the Point. The village is there. My father was Foolish Chief. My grandfather's name was Ghost Heart. My father was born at the Five Villages, my grandfather was born at the same place.

"There is two ways that we came from the Mandan. It would take about four days to tell it all." (Here we indicated to the interpreter—after being told that the writer could not remain so many days—that he would narrate the main part of the tradition, etc.)

"Where the Mandans came from, there's two ways, and the generals talk and talk about it all the time. Those Mandans here, there is Rushing Eagle, Standing Bear, all the three lodges once here; they could tell the story. We are younger men and we don't know, but we hear them talk about it. I will tell you the best I can. The man that walks on the water, he always wants to remember where he came from. There was no earth, it was all water in this country when he walked on it. He went back, and they called the weeds Big Medicine, and the leaves were about so big (indicating); and he followed the trail back to the weeds called Big Medicine. So the leaves were about so big (indicating); and the flood came out of one of the leaves, on the edge of the stalk where the joints come to, and he thought 'This is my mother.' This weed says 'Yes, I am your mother, I sent you out and I want you to do something, make up your mind to have to do something.' This man was going around on top of the water, he was naked, he went on top of the water, and he walked along, and finally he run across a track, and he went on, and the other fellow—he didn't know who he was at this time—he crossed his track and hunted around for a time three or four times, and they came across one another's tracks, and finally they met one another; and he told him—Lone Man told the other fellow, where he arrived from and where he started. The other fellow says 'I don't know where I come from but I walked along this way,' and the other fellow his hair was kind of kinky, and he was short and heavy joints and muscles were quite large on him, and the other fellow was kind of small and his body was nice built and his nose was small and his hair was kinky, and he had yellow eyes—he was Man Chief. So they walked along together and they come onto two divers, ducks, and asked them 'What are you doing here?' 'We don't know where we came from, we're here'—no other birds but them. So they asked them 'What are you eating, how far do you go down there?' 'We go down to the bottom of the mud in the water, pretty hard.' He says 'Go down there and bring me some earth.' They dived down there and didn't come up for some time, and after a while they came back without it, and took a rest. They go down again and bring some up; and they hold their hands, each one on their right hand—hold their right hand out and the ducks put the mud in there. So they dried it and grind it. And they go and they named it west and north and east and south. And so he told them—Man Chief told Lone Man to go to work and make the land on the east and north side, and I'll make the south side, and we will make this river—this Missouri river. So they went on and worked on them quite a while, and they made everything come together again. And Lone Man, what earth he got he ground it so fine, make the country more prairie, and the other fellow didn't grind it so fine and makes more bad lands. They went to work, and they come together, and Man Chief asked Lone Man what kind of buffalo he made, he told him he made spotted ones and all kinds, and he made the same, and he (meaning, probably, Lone Man) says 'You done wrong making those kind of buffalos;' and they had a dispute. He says 'I made the game so you could kill them or catch them,' he says 'You make the game, you can't catch them soon enough, they are pretty wild, some of these days your buffalo will be gone and mine will walk around amongst the people.' He told him he made the moose and all that kind of game, white bear and all kinds in the north; and birds blue and red and yellow and all color, east. Then the other fellow he made the eagles and hawks and the other kind of birds around west and south. That is the way they did. So they make the people, and they come into the Mandans, and started on the Mandans, the first language they made was the Mandan language, he made it himself."

First Men Meet at the Sea. "In the mouth of the sea, where this river empties into the sea, right below, there is where the two men met each other, and he make the earth. Then when they got through Lone Man staid with them, he staid right there; and the people moved to the west and he moved along with them—Lone Man did. Then down in the south here the Corn Man came up from under the earth and followed the vine up, and he killed the game and took the sinews and paunch and some other things, the fat, and took it down there, and he says 'What a fine country, and here's plenty to eat,' and so on; and they started to moving and coming up the vine, they caught hold of the vine and came from under the earth up, and about half way over, and this large woman came, and they all told her not to go, not to start. 'No,' she says, 'I'll go,' and she started up, and she broke the vine, and under the earth down there they cried; and they quit and halloed up and says to the people that was up (half of them were up)—they says 'You can go, it is all right.' Some of the grandfathers or mothers or fathers were down in the earth and some of them were up. So they traveled towards the Missouri, and this Lone Man traveled up to the west side of the river, and they met the Mandans and the other Mandans, and they came together.

"It is just the same as we—they started to meet her—this Corn Woman, and she married one of the Bulls, he took her over there to Winnipeg and started a village there; and this woman—and they had five children, the Fall Bull, Winter Bull, Spring Bull, and Summer Bull, and Magpie." (The rest of his story on this head is, as the interpreter states, the same as that of Little Owl.)

"The people that came from below the earth and followed the vine met the tobacco—(here a sample of the upper Missouri tobacco is shown). The Magpie went over to where they were—the four Bulls sat up on top of the lodge, etc. (continuance of the story of the other Indian, Little Owl). They had a long swim, and one died over at Mouse river by Minot, and the other was half way down the Missouri and the fellow came down to Coal Harbor (in McLean Co., N. D.) and died, and the other fellow swam down to Bird's Bill (Fort Rice) and died."

Four Bull and the Flood. "You whites have a flood. This flood where the four Bulls swam down is the same flood. There was a general that they kept an account of the years until—they kept it at the time of the smallpox, I can't explain very well, but the villages down the river, but Lone Man says 'You must not go to some other country, follow this river all the time;' and the time that those corn people all came up under the earth to meet the Lone Man people, that is the time they plant corn, squash, tobacco, beans, etc., and they have been raising it ever since. And now our seeds are going amongst the whites and amongst the Sioux, and everywhere our seed is growing.

"I want you to put this down just as I tell it; and you people knew God and His making the world. Maybe it is the same, but we have seen, our people have seen with their naked eyes that they made the world too. We have the same flood, only we couldn't keep the date, we lost the track.

"I was three years old when I left the village to come up to Berthold." (Meaning when he came to the old Confederated Village.)

(2) Nup'tadi (no meaning); (3) Ma'nana'rE ("Those Who 174
Quarreled"); (4) Awi'-ka-xa (no meaning); and (5) Nu'itadi 619
("Our People").

While living in the Heart River region, dialectic differences 174
also existed between bands. Three major dialectic groups ex-
isted then, according to Crows Heart and Scattercorn: Nuptadi, 619
Nuitadi, and Awigaxa. The latter group was small and was as- 197
similated into the Nuitadi after the first smallpox epidemic.
Linguistic differences between the Nuptadi and Nuitadi were
recognized by Maximilian, who prepared a partial list of Man-
dan words of the two dialects.[1] These differences are still recog-
nized by Mandan informants. The Nuitadi was the largest lin-
guistic group and comprised the Nuitadi proper, the Is'topa,
and the Ma'nana'rE. The latter two bands separated from the
Nuptadi proper for economic reasons when the village popula-
tion became too large for the further exploitation of the corn
grounds.

In historic times and before coming to Fort Clark, according 619
to Crows Heart, the Istopa and MananarE had separate vil-
lages. In addition, there were several villages of Nuitadi. The 361
Istopa were believed to occupy the territory north of the Heart 131
River and had as their nearest neighbors the Awaxawi band of 174
Hidatsa, who moved there from below the Cannonball River.
Their principal village was at the Motsiff site. Crows Heart's
grandmother was of the Istopa band, and she was born in their
village near the present town of Sanger, North Dakota.

The Mandan have been a relatively small tribe since the first 619
smallpox epidemic which reached them before leaving the Heart
River villages. Lewis and Clark reported ruins of their villages 174
in that region in 1804, and the natives informed him that in
their time nine villages were occupied simultaneously. The east-
side villages united into one village and moved northward, while
the west-side group united first into two villages and later into
one village and moved northward along the west bank of the
Missouri and settled at Fort Clark Village.

There is some inconsistency in the Mandan migration myths, 174 773

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[1] Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. R. G. Thwaites (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1906), XXIV, 259.

174 since some accounts tell of being created at the Heart River while others tell of a migration along the Missouri from the
773 southeast. This same inconsistency was recognized by Maximilian.[2] My informants did not consider this to be an inconsistency at all. Their explanation was that, when Lone Man made the land around the Heart River, he also made the land to the south as far as the ocean. He made fish people, eagle people, bear people, corn people, buffalo people, and others whose history was inaugurated into myths of the sacred bundles. These various people were born into the Mandan tribe by magical means, thus populating the lands.

174 The large number of village sites belonging to a single archeological focus adjacent to the Missouri River both below and
161 above the junction with the Heart River indicates that the tribe at one time numbered several thousand, possibly as much as seven or eight thousand, while the depth of refuse establishes continuous residence there of several centuries.

THE MANDAN HOUSEHOLD

592 The household was the smallest economic unit and was composed of one or more biological families related through the females.
[611] Theoretically, the household was held together by females so long as their lineage was unbroken and the lodge belonged to the clan of which the females were members.
351 When a village was first built on a new site, each household selected a
425 site for its lodge, corn scaffolds, and caches. There was a tend-
592 ency for related families to select adjacent quarters, while those intimately connected with the Okipa ceremony selected lodge sites adjacent to the open circle. These lodge sites within the village were held permanently within the female line, and, when returning to rebuild after a temporary abandonment of the village, female descendants of the original builders were entitled to
425 their former sites. When a family died out, the lodge belonged to the clan of the females and could be occupied by another
592 group of the same clan or could be sold to females of a different clan. My informants emphatically denied that abandoned lodges could be occupied until they had received permission

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[2] *Ibid.*, XXIII, 307–8. There is some inconsistency present, since other myths imply that the Mandan have been on or near the Heart River since the creation of man by Lone Man.

fifty lodges, while the later villages of historic times were much 36
smaller, owing to the smaller population. Maximilian reported
sixty-five lodges at Mitutanka and thirty-eight at Nuptadi. My
informants listed forty-three lodges at Like-a-Fishhook. After 342
1870, the Mandan began abandoning the circular four-post
earth lodge for small rectangular log cabins, two of them housing
the population formerly living in a single earth lodge. Frequently
a log cabin was built with two rooms, one room being
occupied by the older people, who preserved the sacred bundles
in their quarters, and the other room being occupied by the
younger married family.

THE CLAN AND MOIETY SYSTEM

At the present time there are four Mandan clans, and they 616
are divided into nameless moieties according to their position in
the Okipa lodge. The Okipa or ceremonial lodge occupied a posi- 614
tion on the north side of the village open circle, with the entrance
facing the sacred cedar. According to the traditions of the
Okipa, there were formerly thirteen clans which were divided
into moieties known as an east-side moiety, comprising these
clans: Prairie Chicken; Speckled Eagle; Bear; Red Hill; Crow;
Badger; Bunch of Wood; and a west-side moiety consisting of
six clans: Waxi'kEna; Tami'sik; Tami'xixiks; and three extinct
clans. In the construction of the ceremonial lodge all clans par- [344]
ticipated. The east-side clans erected their side of the lodge and
placed yellow corn in each posthole. The west-side clans erected
the west side of the ceremonial lodge and placed small mats of
buffalo hair in the central postholes of their side.

According to tradition, the clans were not all established 614
simultaneously. It is said that Lone Man announced while living
in the tribe that he belonged to the WaxikEna clan. It was the 773
custom for this clan to sit near the door on the left, or west, side
in council and during the ceremonies. The other five clans which
were believed to be closest in relationship to the WaxikEna clan
occupied the west side of the lodge also. It was believed that
those who were of no clan occupied the entire east section of the
lodge in no particular order until Clay on the Face, when returning
from a successful war expedition, announced an arbitrary
division of the young men then sitting in council. It is said that

614 he divided those sitting on the east side into seven groups and
773 gave each group a name, informing them that their sisters and mothers would belong to the same group. Since men of all villages were present at the time, clans were taken back to all villages of the tribe.

Of the thirteen clans, nine have become extinct. Bites in Nose
614 was said to be the last to remember the thirteen clans which he
616 would call in turn during the Okipa ceremony. The WaxikEna and Tamisik constitute one moiety and the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle make up the other moiety today. When the last performance of the Okipa ceremony was held after going onto the Reservation, the WaxikEna and Tamisik occupied the west side of the lodge, and the other two clans took the opposite side. At that time Hidatsa fasters participated in the ceremony, and the members of their three-clan moiety sat with the WaxikEna and Tamisik, while the four-clan moiety sat on the opposite side.

614 The Mandan consider the WaxikEna to be the highest clan, since it held the rights in the Okipa ceremony. The word
[424] *waxikEna* means "to tell bad stories about." The word *tamisik* has no meaning, but the people of that clan were said to be stingy and were frequently teased for serving small portions on wooden platters placed before visitors. *Tamixixiks* refers to poor leather used in making harnesses for carrying wood.

According to tradition, when the Mandan were first created by the culture hero, Lone Man, young men married their own sisters until the tribe became numerous, when clans were established to prevent marriage between relatives. The clan names had no sacred significance, and in the cases of the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle there was no prohibition against killing these birds by members of the two clans.

The clans were organized groups and elected a leader who
[554] acted in an advisory capacity. He was an older person who had been successful in warfare or in hunting and had shown considerable interest in the members of the clan, particularly the old
614 men and women. There were frequent clan feasts by some member of the clan, at which time they would discuss the success of
431 individual members. When a young man contemplated buying an important ceremonial bundle or performing a ceremony, it

the prime of life and others who, having been crippled either in 555
warfare, hunting, or other active pursuits, were unable to carry 887
out the work normally performed by men. The older men of
the lodge usually made the arrows used by the men of the
household, and ten arrows complete with heads and feathers
had the value of one unpainted robe. Young men of the lodge
paid the older men for the right to learn the techniques of
arrowmaking. The Mandan in 1929 remembered two men who
had been crippled, one when his leg was broken by a wounded
buffalo, the other who had had a femur bone shattered by a
bullet and who had spent much of their time preparing arrows
which they sold.

Another class of people who were highly regarded were the 555
storytellers. The art of storytelling was highly developed; the 538
stories had a variety of themes and were highly formalized. One
paying for the right to have a story told was expected to repeat 424
the story after the informer until it was learned in complete 421
detail. The customary way of buying the story was to have a
feast and a supply of tobacco mixed with red willow bark prepared
before calling the informer in to relate his stories. The
stories were of a semisacred character, and many dealt with the
exploits of distinguished persons who had once lived in the village
or tribe. It was considered improper to relate sacred myths
belonging to others unless the informer was an owner in the
particular rites, in which instance the buyer was expected to
have enough robes and other goods so that each person having
rights in the story would receive pay even when only one of
their member was relating the story. The actual storytelling
was then held at a later time when the informant could be alone
with his pupil.

There was considerable traditional lore not actually associated 773●
with any ceremony at the time this study was being
made. Informants were of the opinion that these myths once 538
were associated with bundle rites now extinct and that the 554
stories had continued as common property of the tribe. These 571
stories have to do with such mythological characters as Corn
Silk, Buffalo, First Creator, and the Snakes. Both men and
women were storytellers, and they were highly respected as
possessors of important tribal lore. They enjoyed intimate con-

173 538 554 571 tacts with most families, since a person was not considered important who could not argue in council for a certain point of view based on traditional action of the group. Group action was in a large measure regulated by custom. These patterns of behavior were in a large measure perpetuated by the storyteller. Anyone seeking the position of chief would need a considerable knowledge of tribal history to attain that status. No amount of success in warfare or performance of ceremonies would in themselves have been sufficient. It was this extra knowledge of tribal lore that distinguished them as leaders. Actually, whenever one was the recipient of goods and honors from another, a new and intimate relationship was established between them. Those who had provided many feasts and acquired a considerable knowledge of tribal lore were ultimately selected to become the leaders of the various groups.

571 785 554 Men who had reached middle age were called on to insert the thongs for a "son" who was preparing to fast and to pray for his success. They were expected to supervise the fasting and have it terminated when there was a possibility that the "son" was carrying his fasting to excess. Those who had good war records or had made significant contributions toward village welfare in other ways offered many feasts to the older men hoping that, by so doing, they would be named village leaders. A man would announce renewal feasts to his ceremonial bundle from time to time and call in those who had similar bundles. Some would assist in removing arrows and opening wounds or doctor in other ways when the occasion warranted.

561 701 Men of middle age belonged to the Black Mouth Society, which was intrusted with the organization and protection of the village. This was the most highly organized men's society. It met every two or three days and received its instructions from the older men meeting in council. It was their duty, whenever the village was in danger of attack, to see that none left the village without permission. Each member carried a club carved according to his own individual preference, and he was expected to use it if anyone was found violating the rules. If the announcer called through the village that the people were not to leave the village and anyone was seen leaving, the Black Mouths would drive him back. Crows Heart remembered a

able numbers along the Heart River and in the vicinity of 888
Square Butte Creek. With the introduction of the horse they 421
were less commonly used, although the practice was not entirely 224
abandoned until after 1870. Buffalo, deer, elk, and wolves were captured in them. Older men also managed the fish traps, of which there were a number for each village. An account of fish-trapping is given in chapter viii, "Catfish-trapping Ceremony," which appears in this account of ceremonialism.

The old people were generally well cared for by the Mandan. 888
They were held in high respect, and my informants frequently condemned neighboring tribes for abandoning their old people. On the other hand, Mandan old people frequently were left back when the village went on a buffalo hunt and refused to have others remain with them, claiming that they would get along and that, if the enemy came and killed them, it was all right, as one could not live forever. Usually a few families remained in the village to care for the old people who were too feeble to travel.

The Mandan traditions state that, when people were first 773
created and placed on the earth, Lone Man decreed that they 761
should not live to be older than one hundred years and that some would die at various ages from birth to old age. It was believed that people died from improper fasting, violation of tribal custom, disrespect of holy things, quarreling, foreign objects in the body, and loss of "power." It was also believed that those who neglected the unfortunate would not live long, since the sacred things frequently sent destitute people into the tribe to detect the selfish families. The sun was believed to be a cannibal who would adopt a "son" in an enemy tribe, subsequently giving a Mandan a dream instruction to go out on the warfare where he would be killed.

The Mandan believed that a person had four souls. One was 774
the white spirit, which was often seen traveling through the air as a shooting star. It was regarded as the principal spirit and was represented by the white upland sage. The second spirit was light brown and scarcely visible and was represented by the meadow lark. These two spirits united in the spirit world and became the individual of the hereafter. The third spirit was known as the lodge spirit and remained near the lodge of which

tween bundle lines. Some informants thought that these 796
bundles must have originated in different villages because their 778
older people who were living when the tribe occupied two villages 124
had spoken of ceremonial differences between the villages.
They believed that these ceremonial differences went back to mythological times when the ceremonies were first taught to the people.

Mandan tribal sacred bundles had these elements in common: 796
each contained objects representing the characters and incidents
of the myth; the rites were dramatizations of the sacred myths; 778
there were prescribed rules of behavior when in the presence of 773
the bundle or while it was open; an incense was always burned 424
while the bundle rites were being performed or when the rites were terminated; there were songs and a sacred myth which belonged to the bundle; each bundle included a buffalo skull; the ritualistic lore was secret, and payment must be made to the bundle-owner for a knowledge of the rites; there were fixed rules of inheritance for the sale and transfer of the bundle; tribal sanction of a bundle transfer was at a public feast to which those owning related bundles were invited; feasts were made to the bundle by nonowners as a social obligation; and bundle-owners on occasion would give Bundle Renewal feasts to their own bundles to which were invited those owning important tribal bundles.

The Mandan recognize four seasons which were associated 796
with the spring, summer, autumn, and winter buffalo. Since informants 805
could not agree on any other division of the year, it is
highly unlikely that they recognized any other uniform divisions. 221
The year count was important in relating events. Ceremonies were, in general, evenly divided over the year. Ceremonies for success in warfare or doctoring were held at any time. On the other hand, rites relating to agriculture were begun in late winter when the first water birds appeared and were held throughout the summer until the southern flight of these birds had passed. The Okipa was always held during the warmest months, while the Snow Owl, Red Stick, and White Buffalo Cow ceremonies to bring the winter buffalo herds were always held

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796 805 during the coldest months. Table 3 gives the approximate time of the principal tribal ceremonies.

778 773 The Mandan attach great significance to the sacred myths associated with the sacred bundles, and informants constantly explained the relationship of one bundle to another in terms of incidents mentioned in these myths. 778 773 For that reason, the sacred myths belonging to the various bundle rites were recorded as completely as possible and appear in this study in much the same form and detail as they were recorded. It was a customary practice for a Mandan to invite to his lodge one having important tribal bundles and pay him to have the myths related privately. Those having a considerable knowledge of tribal lore were held in high esteem. The sacred myths were considered

TABLE 3

APPROXIMATE TIME AND PURPOSE OF PRINCIPAL TRIBAL CEREMONIES

796 221

Approximate Month	Ceremony	Purpose of Ceremony
June to August	Okipa	General tribal welfare Buffalo fertility rites
May	Corn Fertility	To insure good gardens
March to October	Goose Society	Rains and good growing conditions for crops
August to October	Harvest festival	Thanksgiving rites for crops
March to October	Old Woman Who Never Dies	Rain and good growing conditions to insure good gardens
January to January	Old Woman Who Never Dies	Doctoring and warfare
March to October	Corn Pipe	Fertility
September to November	Eagle-trapping rites	To capture eagles
July to September	Eagle-trapping rites	To trap fish
January to January	Eagle-trapping rites	To corral buffaloes
April	Eagle-trapping rites	Success in hunting or warfare
April and November	Big Bird	Warfare Rain
January to January	Small Hawk	Warfare
June to August	Small Hawk	To call buffaloes
December to March	Snow Owl	To call winter buffaloes
January to January	Snow Owl	Warfare
March to October	Snow Owl	Rain
January to January	People Above	Warfare Doctoring
January to January	Shell Robe	Warfare Doctoring
December to March	Red Stick	To call winter buffaloes
December to March	White Buffalo Cow	To call winter buffaloes
January to January	Bear	Doctoring and warfare
March to November	Snake	Rain Doctoring Warfare

secret and were never related publicly. One paying to have the 778
myths related did not receive rights in the ceremony. Instruc- 773 ●
tions in the rites and songs were divulged only to those purchasing the bundle rites.

So far as the writer was able to determine, the ceremonial 796
pattern had been established prior to A.D. 1800 and underwent little change in subsequent years. There was, however, a greater display of goods after the introduction of the horse and the establishment of trading posts.

Matthews wrote: "The work of Prince Maximilian contains the most accurate and extensive information regarding their customs and manners. Notwithstanding the great changes in the tribe since 1834, the majority of his notes might be used without alteration in describing the Mandan of to-day."[1]

The Mandan preserved their rich ceremonialism after the smallpox epidemic of 1837, according to Matthews, who added:

> The square, the medicine-lodge, with its four poles in front, surmounted by sacrificial effigies, and the ark, as they may be seen to-day, seem to be the almost exact counterparts of those which were seen in the old Mandan village at Ft. Clark, in 1832 and 1833, by George Catlin and the Prince of New-Wied, if we are to judge by the drawings they have given us. Within the temple and around the ark, the Mandans still perform the ceremony of the Okeepa, which Catlin so accurately describes. The awful severities of the rite, have however, been somewhat mitigated since his day.[2]

In addition to the sacred myths associated with the bundles, 773
there were numerous stories of a magical character which were 424
bought and sold. A few of these myths were recorded in the field but are omitted from this book, since a number of them have already appeared in print.[3] The most popular of these were: (1) the exploits of Spring Buffalo and Corn Silk; (2) Stiff Robe and the Buffaloes of the Four Seasons; (3) Four Wings; (4) Snake Village and Buffalo Village; (5) Sun as a Gambler and Cannibal; and (6) the Pet Magpie.[4]

The First Creator myths also belong in this category. Since 773
this mythological character had a dual personality, in organizing 128

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[1] Washington Matthews, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Language of the Hidatsa* (New York, 1873–74), p. 14.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[3] See Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [Boston, 1938]).

[4] See also the myths recorded below in chap. vii, "Eagle-trapping Ceremony."

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128

the material for this volume, myths of a less sacred character were excluded.

Mandan-Hidatsa eagle-trapping rites were treated collectively in this study, since tribal differences were no greater than differences appearing in separate bundle lines. This is due possibly to recent borrowing by the Hidatsa, because the territory eastward of their historic range, from which they moved in late prehistoric times, was unsuited to eagle-trapping.

stood. This lodge was circular in outline and differed from the 361
regular earth lodges only by its greater size. 171

The open-circle concept was definitely established among the Mandan at a very early date according to the archeological evidence from the Heart River region.[2] There is some evidence in the Grand River region of the Mandan-type open-circle village arrangement, but the situation there is in most instances obscured by subsequent Arikara occupations.

Lone Man, according to tradition, established the custom of 773
leaving an open area within each village for dancing. Later, 776
when he was leaving the tribe, he erected a Red-painted cedar,
as a symbol of his body and of all the Mandans who had lived 346
before. The cedar was surrounded by a wall of cottonwood planks as a symbol of the wall he erected to protect the people from the flood. A water willow surrounding the planks marked the highest advance of the flood waters. He also established the custom of maintaining a special ceremonial lodge in each village and taught the ceremonies associated with its construction. The lodge was a symbol of Dog Den Butte where Hoita (the speckled eagle) imprisoned all living things. Six central posts were used making it oblong in form, with a flat side facing the open circle.[3] Lone Man also established the WəxikEna and Tamisik clans and indicated their seating arrangement in the ceremonial lodge. He divided the lodge into two halves, the left half or east side belonging to the Prairie Chicken, Speckled Eagle, and five other clans of that moiety. The right side belonged to the WaxikEna, Tamisik, Tamixixiks and three other clans of that moiety.

According to the sacred myths the moiety and clan system 773
was as follows prior to the smallpox epidemics: 614

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West-Side Moiety (Buffalo)	East-Side Moiety (Corn)
Waxi'kEna (Tell Bad News)	Sipuska'numak (Prairie Chicken People)
Tami'sik (no meaning)	Ipoka'numak (Speckled Eagle People)
Tami'xixiks (Bad Strap)	Mato'domak (Bear People)
[Three extinct clans whose names are not now remembered]	MasE'domak (Red Hill People)
	Amaka'domak (Badger People)
	HoxExaka'numak (Crow People)
	Manakasa'numak (People in Grove)

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[2] By 1500 in sites of the Huff focus in villages of rectangular lodges.

[3] This was the habitation lodge which was retained for ceremonial purposes when the circular earth lodge was adopted shortly before 1600.

614 Prior to the first smallpox epidemic there were thirteen named
clans, six clans dying out as a result of that epidemic. The three
616 above clans of the west-side moiety survived together with the
Prairie Chicken, Speckled Eagle, Crow, and Bear clans of the
opposite moiety. The Bad Straps were assimilated into the
Tamisik clan, while the Crow and Bear clans either died out or
were assimilated with the Prairie Chickens after the smallpox
epidemic of 1837.

The west-side moiety was established by Lone Man, who
776 represented the village activities and peace functions of the
616 tribe. The other moiety was divided into clans by Clay on the
614 Face, who promised to give the people sitting opposite Lone
773 Man's moiety names if he returned from a successful war expedition.
As he returned from this expedition singing, he saw
prairie chickens which were making a loud noise as they ate, the
speckled eagles flying in the air, the bears in the timber, the
snake people living in the red buttes near Old Woman Who
Never Dies' lodge, the badger near his burrow on the prairie, the
crows which were cawing, and mysterious people living in the
small brush thickets. These were the names he gave to the
people of his moiety.

Of the ten clans listed above, four survived the smallpox epidemic
614 of 1837. They were WaxikEna, Tamisik, Prairie Chicken,
and Speckled Eagle. Scattercorn's father, Moves Slowly, an officer
in the Okipa, would call the name of each Nuptadi clan on
the last day, and those impersonating the bulls would bellow as
each was named. He had heard that the officers from the other
village would formerly call the names of thirteen clans, but
while at Fort Clark they dropped six extinct clans from the rites.

346 Each moiety owned its side of the ceremonial lodge. When
erecting a new lodge or repairing the old one, the clans forming
616 a moiety worked as a unit on their own side. Those fasting during
614 the Okipa occupied places inside the lodge at the wall according
to clan. Those of the WaxikEna were next to the door
on the right side. The Tamisik occupied the balance of that
side. On the left side the Prairie Chicken clan sat near to the
door, and the Speckled Eagle clan occupied the remaining space
on that side.

000 The ceremonial lodge was occupied by a prominent male of

these groups set up a cedar whenever a new village was built. 621
Each had its own set of officers, but the turtles originally belonged 619
to the Nuptadi band into which the original Lone Man
was once born, and it was necessary to borrow them whenever 778
the Okipa was being performed in one of the other villages. They
were the common property of the WaxikEna clan. Crows Heart
explained that quarrels sometimes occurred in a village, with
part of the population breaking away, but that in such instances
no cedar would be erected or ceremonial lodge built
until it was decided to make the village a permanent one. Scattercorn
thought that the groups were stable, although a few
families were always leaving one group and joining another. She
thought that fission of villages was a difficult thing, as new
Okipa officers would be needed.

The Mandan have a number of creation stories which were a 773
part of the sacred myths of the bundles and their associated
ceremonies. The sacred myth of the Corn ceremony relates the
exploits of the Corn People, who formerly lived below the surface
of the earth beside a lake before coming to the surface under
the chieftainship of Good Furred Robe. The Buffalo People,
who were the performers of the Okipa, were created on the
earth near Heart River by Lone Man after the lands were made.
In mythological times there was an earth-lodge village of hawks
to the east, bears to the north, eagles and other large birds including
the Sun and Moon in the sky, to mention but a few of
them. The Heart River region became a meeting place of
peoples of all these groups. The Corn People migrated northward
and united with the Buffalo People. Other peoples were
added from time to time through intermarriage and were identified
according to their respective bundles. It was believed that [787]
the visions one had were dependent on the mythological group
to which he belonged.

The Animal rites of the Okipa ceremony are reported to have 796
originally belonged to the Buffalo People, who were created in 773
the vicinity of Heart River by Lone Man and are a dramatization
of the freeing of the animals from Dog Den Butte. As new groups
united with them, modifications were instituted in the cere-

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region shortly before the first smallpox epidemic. Their emphasis was on corn rites instituted by Good Furred Robe while living far to the south.

796 mony. In the beginning, the people lived an extremely simple life without tools and weapons. At that time there were no so-
•773 cieties and only a few simple rites, one of which was a Buffalo Dance in which one man danced. It is believed that, as time passed, the people acquired skills along many lines; there was a corresponding development of mutual obligations; new societies and ceremonies were adopted which grew in complexity. It is also believed that there was a parallel development of the Okipa ceremony from the simple Buffalo Dance to its complex form as performed until seventy-five years ago, and that the cultural growth of the tribe was divided into four periods which were represented by the four days of the ceremony.

The principal characters in the ceremony were Lone Man (NumakmaxEna), Speckled Eagle (Hoita), Giver of Ceremony (Koni'saka), and the singers.

796 Lone Man was without question the tribe's most important deity. The original Lone Man belonged to the WaxikEna clan,
776 and a bundle was founded which contained all the articles used
614 by the Lone Man impersonator during the ceremony. Inherit-
778 ance was through the WaxikEna clan. Before the smallpox epidemics, there were at least two similar and graded bundles in each village, and the men holding rights in the Okipa met to select from their number those who would officiate during the next ceremony.

796 According to tradition the original Lone Man established the rule that the bundle should belong to the WaxikEna clan.
778 However, before he left the tribe, he desired a white buffalo
424 robe owned by his brother's son. The young man offered to exchange his robe for Lone Man's bundle, and this transaction was made, the bundle and office passing temporarily from the WaxikEna clan. The principal bundle was kept, after the smallpox epidemic of 1837, at Nuptadi Village, and a secondary
[564] bundle was kept by the other village group. Women could inherit and buy the bundle but could not officiate in the rites. Beaver's brother owned a bundle originally at Nuptadi Village prior to 1837. When he died, his sister transferred the bundle to her daughters, Shells and Grows First, who were both of the WaxikEna clan. Little Eagle, who had married the two sisters, paid them for the right to officiate in the ceremony. He then

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1. A buffalo-skin apron with buffalo-hair strands attached
2. Flat staff with the moon and thunderbird carved on one side, a star and the sun on the other
3. A stuffed raven
4. Two-piece wooden pipe inlaid with a dark-colored stone
5. Jackrabbit-skin collar and anklets
6. Headdress of porcupine trimmed with jackrabbit skin
7. A set of buffalo teeth
8. A war-bonnet trailer of alternating raven and swan feathers
9. A buffalo-hair headdress with a stuffed owl attached
10. Four buffalo tails with white buffalo hair attached
11. A staff decoration consisting of a buffalo tail trimmed with weasel fur

Bundle-owners were custodians of the turtle drums, the sacred cedar, and the ceremonial lodge.

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● 773
The office of Hoita ranked equal in importance with that of the Lone Man during the performance of the Okipa but otherwise was unimportant. Hoita or Speckled Eagle represented the People Above but had had no part in the creation of the earth according to the mythology. He was born into the tribe where he was recognized for his supernatural powers. Because of jealousy over a white buffalo robe, he imprisoned the animals in Dog Den Butte. When he learned that another who claimed to be his "son" through the medium of the "walking" ceremony was holding the Okipa, he freed the animals and agreed to co-operate with Lone Man in performing the Okipa.

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The rule was that the Hoita should belong to either the WaxikEna or Tamisik clan, and there is no evidence that this rule was ever broken, at least in the memory of my informants. During the period of readjustment following the smallpox epidemic of 1837, Big Turtle (Tamisik clan) held the office. He sold rights in the office to Moves Slowly (WaxikEna clan), who impersonated Hoita, while Big Turtle served as director of the singers. Moves Slowly sold his rights to Iron Eyes (WaxikEna), who officiated, while Moves Slowly assisted the singers. The right to officiate in the Okipa ceremony was given at a public feast.

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The Hoita directed the ceremonies performed inside the ceremonial lodge. He supervised the fasters and saw that none who had interrupted their fasting returned to the lodge. He directed the selection of characters represented in the dances and supervised the painting, indicating the time when each rite was to be

used in decorating the Bull Dancers. Eight men selected beforehand danced eight times before the sacred cedar during the second day. These men were the largest individuals to be found in the village, and they were trained carefully to take the parts assigned them by the Hoita.

While the Okipa ceremony was going through its first day's performance, the owners of bundles representing creatures which were to appear in the ceremony met according to bundles and selected those who were to dance and receive offerings of goods on the "Everything Comes Back Day." Legitimate bundle-owners could officiate or they could select a young man who, according to custom, would probably inherit one of their bundles. When no selection was made, the Hoita could choose some good dancer to assume the part. Some characters were selected by the Hoita, particularly those representing buffalo bulls who danced during the second day.

The following is a list of characters participating in the ceremony on the third day.

1. Eight men representing buffalo bulls: These men were selected by the Hoita, who chose large men of uniform size. Fasters were often selected, in which instance their fasting was terminated.
2. Two men representing bald eagles: Big Bird bundle-owners selected these.
3. Two men impersonating women: Holy Women, Old Woman Who Never Dies, Holy Robe, and Woman Above bundle-owners met to select their representatives. One was to impersonate a foolish woman, the other a wise one.
4. Two men representing swans: Men having Lone Man rights were selected, since the swan feathers were alternated with raven feathers on the Lone Man's war-bonnet trailer.
5. Two men representing snakes: Snake bundle-owners, of which there were a large number, selected their representatives.
6. Two men, one representing a calumet eagle, and the other a hawk: Selected by the Bird bundle-owners.
7. Two men representing the black bears of the Eagle-trapping bundles.
8. Two men representing grizzly bears: Selected by Grizzly Bear bundle-owners.
9. Two men representing beavers: Those individuals with Creek or River bundles selected them.
10. Two men representing strips of dried meat: They were selected by the Hoita.
11. Two men representing night: They were selected by those people having bundles relating to the stars or moon. Many mythological characters were believed to be living in the sky as stars, and men whose bundle rites included these would meet and select representatives. Many of these mythological characters were believed to have lived on the earth in early days.

000 of life has his abode. The third son is the night. The eldest daughter is the star that rises in the east, the morning star; and they call her, "the woman who wears a plume." The second daughter, called "the striped gourd," is a high star which revolves around the polar star; and, lastly, the third daughter is the evening star which is near to the setting sun.[39]

ORIGIN MYTH RELATED BY WOLF CHIEF[40]

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A long time ago the Missouri River flowed into the Mississippi River and thence into the ocean. On the right bank there was a high point on the ocean shore that the Mandan came from. They were said to have come from under the ground at that place and brought corn up. Their chief was named Good Furred Robe. He had one brother named Cornhusk Earrings and another younger brother called No Hair on Him or Head for Rattle after the gourds. They had a sister named Corn Stalk.

In this early time when they came out of the ground, Good Furred Robe was Corn Medicine, and he had the right to teach the other people how to raise corn. The people of Awigaxa asked him to teach them his songs so as to keep the corn and be successful in growing their corn. Good Furred Robe also had a robe which, if sprinkled with water, would cause rain to come.

When they came out of the ground, there were many people but they had no clothing on. They said, "We have found Ma'tahara." That was what they called the river as it was like a stranger. It is also the word for "stranger." They went a short distance and planted corn, even though they were naked. They were located there for a few years, and all that time they planted corn. Then they moved north, and no one knows the number of years they stopped at the different places. At last they came to the place where the river flowed into the ocean. When they came to the mouth of this river, they saw people on the other side who could understand their language and they thought they were Mandan too. The village on the other side had a chief whose name was Maniga. It was a very large village.

While they were stopping there, they found that the people on the other side owned bowls made of shells. At Good Furred Robe's village they would kill the rabbits for the hides. They also killed the meadowlarks for the yellow crescents. They took them to the people of the other village to trade for shell bowls. They would also take the rabbit hides painted red and trade for the shells.

Good Furred Robe also owned a boat that was holy. It could carry twelve men. Each time they wanted to trade in the other village, they would take the red rabbit hides and the yellow meadowlark breasts and float over. There was a rough place in the middle, and they would drop some of these objects into the water, and then the water would calm.

All during this time they had enough corn to live on, but nothing is told

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[39] *Op. cit.*, pp. 301–3.

[40] Wolf Chief secured this information from Chief, his Mandan father-in-law, whose wife was formerly married to Bobtail Bull, a Corn ceremony bundle-owner. For other versions of this myth see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 10–11; Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels*, ed. Thwaites, XXIII, 312–17; and Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I, 279–80.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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in the traditions about their clothing. They continued moving up the river until they came to the mouth of the Missouri River. They saw many trees on the Mississippi River and decided to go across and live on the Mississippi. They stayed in that country for three or four years, all the time planting corn along the river. They said, "We have discovered a better river and it will be a good place to plant the corn." They discovered fine evergreen trees, and we have called them medicine trees since that time.

There were no bows and arrows in those days, and one of the men made a bow and arrows, practicing with them and picking out sharp bones with which to tip the arrows. He also found the sinews that would stretch the bow. We do not know if they were eating meat or not at that time. There were many elk, deer, and beaver on this river, and that is why they called it Good River. At that time they found a dead buffalo in a mud hole, and one of them said that they ought to take the hide off and cut it into a long string to catch deer with. When they took the hide off, they cut the strings and twisted them to dry. Then they made a loop on the end. They would go out and find deer trails to hang it in to catch the deer. They made many of these snares and set them out in many places. They would find some dead deer and even some elk hanging there.

After they learned how to do this, they had plenty of meat to eat with their corn. They stayed at that place for over ten years. It was at this time that they learned how to use the bow and arrows tipped with bone, to kill smaller game.

Again they moved from there farther up the Mississippi River until they found a place where there was much timber but the surrounding land was flat. They found a flat place where the timber was not so thick, and there they lived for six years. At that time they called themselves Nu'itadi, meaning "from us." Some of them were called Nup'tadi (no meaning); another group was called Awi'gaxa (no meaning). One of the latter two bands moved from the others under a chief named Four Bulls and came to a place where there was much timber. The village after the split must have been in the western part of Minnesota not far from Pipestone.

They traveled southward then until they came to heavy timber and had a big village[41] there. While there they learned more about bows and arrows and could shoot even beavers and other game. Then they had plenty of food. Again they traveled on through the deep timber and had another village, staying there for four years. The earth lodges at that time were of the eagle-trapping type with grass and dirt covering the sides.

When they stopped there, a man went out looking for game and followed a creek. He saw some mud sticking out of a hill, and there was a spring at that place. The mud was sticky; he took some of it out and carried it away a short distance. He left some of it flat on the ground to dry. When he went back where he had left the mud, it was hard except that there was one crack. He thought that there should be some use for that mud. He thought, "I will get some sand and mix it with this mud and leave it again. It might be of some use." Then he went home again. When he returned, the mud was still cracked. He thought, "If I crack some stones and crush them fine to mix with the clay,

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[41] These villages were named in the Okipa ceremony, but the language used was unintelligible to the listener, as it was an old dialect. The translation was a part of the secret lore which passed with bundle sales.

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it might be better." He found some hard stones and put them in the fire to burn four days. Then he crushed the stones and took the material to the place where the clay had been left. He mixed the clay with the crushed stone, shaped it into a pot, and left it in the sun to dry. Next day when he went back, he found that it was hard and could be used. He made many more; some he made into the shape of spoons.[42] From that time they had pots. After that they made large ones and baked them to cook in. The Mandan were the first to discover pottery; the Hidatsa and other people learned the art from them. The mud was a special kind, and it was hard to find. Later they found this clay around the flint they took out of the tops of hills west of the Missouri River.

They stayed there for more than ten years, for there were many animals suitable for food as well as good corn grounds. During this time some of the young men were looking for game, and they came out of the timber. They could see the flatland for a great distance, so they thought that they would move. At first they did not come completely out of the woods but stayed on the edge.

When they came out of the timber, they had another large village again. They stayed there a long time, for there was much game and they had their gardens in the timber.

When they had the village there, it happened that they had a dry year. The people who called themselves Awigaxa made a feast, and they had some of the women paint their faces and wear geese[43] on their heads. First Creator and Lone Man came at that time. They asked these people where they came from, and they replied that they had come up from under the ground and that they had traveled around much since then. The two men said, "You seem to be getting along well here. We came from the west bank of the Missouri River. We discovered some prairie dogs in a village there, but we changed them into humans. We showed them how to put on the Buffalo Dance, but we see now that we would rather have you people here put on that ceremony, for you would be more careful about giving the dance."

Then the two men walked off and returned to the prairie-dog village they had changed into humans. First Creator and Lone Man had made the dance for the prairie dogs, and, when they came back, they saw that these people were not fit to give the dance, for they had left the drum in the ashpile. They thought, "These people don't appreciate the dance, for they are not the right kind of people to begin with. It would be much better to take the Buffalo Dance from them." The two men took the Buffalo Dance away from the prairie dogs and gave it to the Mandan. They gave the prairie dogs a curing ceremony instead. The Arikara were the prairie-dog people. They have the Prairie Dog Curing Medicine yet.

First Creator and Lone Man came back to the Mandan village and said, "We are going to show you the Buffalo Dance."

They said "What is it?"

They replied, "It is a good thing for you, and any time you have a shortage of food, you will pray for food. This way it will increase your people and bring you plenty of food." They showed these people how to give the ceremony, paint, and dress.

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[42] Spoons have never been found in Mandan archaeological sites, whereas pots are abundant.

[43] The Goose Women's Society. It was founded by Good Furred Robe, and the Corn bundle-owner was singer for this society.

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They thought, "How will we paint to make them good-looking? We might use some of the color of the snakes; they look nice. It is not a real snake but the worm on the chokecherry bushes. Between the shoulders they grow a hook. We will have that represent the mask and take that color for the buffaloes. The hook behind will be the buffalo horn and the branches will be the branches of the worm nest."

The people inquired how they would fix up that way and Lone Man said, "Go out and kill a buffalo; take all the flesh off of the skin and bring the hide to me." The people went out and killed a buffalo and brought the hide to the two men. They called one of the young men to stand before them. They took the horn off with the horn core removed. The young man had long hair hanging down. They put the horn on his back with the brush over it, reaching over his head and hanging down nearly to the ground. They painted him on the chest, legs, and arms with red, black, and white. All this was representative of this bug in color. When he was painted, he was very beautiful.

At this time they had a hide for a drum. They wanted to practice the songs that belonged to this drum, but the drum was not very solid. It would sink into the ground and soon wear out. Lone Man was doing the drumming, and he said to First Creator, "You show them how the dancing is done, and I will do the drumming." Lone Man sang the song, and First Creator danced, stretching his arms out. He danced and showed the painted man how to dance.

Lone Man said to the people, "You must not touch this drum, for it is very holy. We are going out to look for another drum and will be back after a while."

They went out, and after a while they came back with the badger. Even before they had the Buffalo Dance, Lone Man had a flat stick. Before he touched the badger, he held the stick up, but the badger pleaded that he was not strong enough. When he held the stick up, the badger sank into the ground.

They said, "The badger has no strength and is not suitable." They went to the beaver, but, before he ever hit the beaver, the animal sank into the ground. Each time he held his stick up, the earth shook. They went out again and came to a turtle. They asked him but the turtle replied, "I have no strength or power. I would rather that you went to the big turtle who is in the ocean. He would be a better drum, for his life will be so long that he will last forever. He will be better for the drum."

When they came to the shore, they found a large turtle; it was brown. They talked to the turtle saying, "We are looking for a drum to use in the dance, and now we need you for the drum."

The Turtle said, "That is all right. I do not think I can go myself, but you can look me over and then make one yourself out of a buffalo hide. When you fix it that way I will be there just the same, for you will be taking the shape of my body. If you do that, I will last forever."

When they returned, they killed a buffalo, took the hide off of the bull, and made a turtle. They made the legs out of oak and covered it with a hide from which the hair had been removed. Then they painted the outside with red paint. They finished the turtle, and in two days the hide was all dried up. First Creator said, "We must pick out a young man to dance in the costume; you show him how to dance." Lone Man made a motion as of striking the turtle. At the same time there was a noise as if the earth were cracking and dust came up, but the turtle was not driven into the earth like the other animals had been. Then Lone Man said, "That is the kind of drum we want; it will last forever. After this if any of you people dream of this dance or have a dream in which it is a part, then you must put up this dance. We are not going off right away but will be around near by."

He said, "When a young man is dancing, he may want to smoke the pipe. If they feel like smoking it, fill it up. I made it out of a green buffalo tail, bent it on one end to hold the tobacco, and filled it with sand until it was dry. The men with the buffalo heads must not touch the pipe. If he wants to smoke, you hold the pipe while he smokes."

About this time, Good Furred Robe, who was always traveling, found a red spot and wondered what it was. Going there, he saw that it was a stone. He thought that it might be a good thing to make a pipe from. Up to this time the people had used black stone pipes for smoking. He brought the red stone back. He thought how in the Buffalo Dance they used the buffalo tail and how it would be a good thing to fix up the red stone pipe and let them use that. He made a pipe with no elbow; the hole was in the end.

They had another Buffalo Dance, and one young man danced. At that time Lone Man came back. Good Furred Robe took the pipe to him and said, "I saw you using the buffalo tail, and I think this is better." Lone Man said, "It looks pretty, but I am afraid of it, for it is the color of human blood."

The Goose Women had put up a feast because the fields were drying up. Good Furred Robe took the pipe to them and said, "I have a good pipe here; it is a nice color. You should use it instead of the one you have that is not pretty." They said, "We are afraid of it because it is the color of human blood." The people were wondering where he had found the the red stone, and he took some of them to the place and showed them where he had found it. They saw some of the pretty stones and made a few pipes for their personal use. (I tried to claim the pipe stone quarries by this story, but some people did not believe it. Mrs. White Duck has Good Furred Robe's skull, but some of the younger men do not claim it because they are not familiar with this old story.)

Later three men were traveling around a great deal, and each time they would get out farther and farther. One time they came to the Missouri River and saw timber on each side. They reported this to the people, who thought that it must be a branch of the river they passed farther to the south. They decided to move from their village toward the river. They came to the Missouri River at what they called White Clay Creek.[44] It is below the Cheyenne River today. The camp was just opposite that river on the east side.

They built a camp there, and after three years the Awigaxa disappeared. They thought that the Awigaxa must have gone up the Cheyenne or White Clay River to the west. Two years afterward, about twelve families of the Awigaxa came back.

When they came back, they said, "They sent us back because the people out there do not think you know the Corn Medicine rites. They asked us to teach them to you."

The Awigaxa already talked a little differently from the others. Three years after they came back, the Buffalo Dance had increased so that four danced.

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[44] This is White River, which enters the Missouri River below Chamberlain, South Dakota.

It is not known how many times they had villages along the river. At that time a man dreamed of the Buffalo Dance. He told his people afterward, "I saw more than one bull and many different birds and animals. There was a human being with a long penis. I saw four turtles instead of one."

Lone Man came back. He related his dream to Lone Man, who said, "That is all right. You should try to put up the ceremony."

In the dream he had seen the four turtles. They had eagle feathers on their heads, but Lone Man said, "It would be hard for you to save that many feathers. You will have time to save some. Take your time saving all those feathers. If you think there are enough for four turtles, call me, and I will hear even though I am far away."

He saved all the feathers, knowing that it would take him a long time. In three or four years he had the necessary feathers, and then he called Lone Man. They made three more turtles just like the other one they had fixed before on the pattern of the ocean turtle.

When the two finished the turtles, they arranged them in a row, first the small one, then the two medium-sized ones, and then the large one which had been made first. Lone Man said, "You should give them what you can." It was the speckled eagle feathers that he was giving them. When he came to the last one, thinking it would like the calumet eagle's feathers best, he decorated it with those feathers. The one at the head said to the man, "You did not give me the right kind. That feather I do not like. For that reason, I am going back to the water."

They tried to hold him but could not. He walked away and went into the water. They called to Lone Man to help them. He came back and walked toward the turtle in the water. He took his lance up, sang his song, motioning with it at the water which ran apart. He could see the turtle in the water. He said, "They gave you the best of all. What is the matter?"

The turtle said, "That is all right." Then the water covered over the turtle again. I was never at the place[45] where it went into the water, but it was about opposite where Fort Yates now stands. The place or village is called "Where Turtle Went Back."

When Lone Man saw that the turtle was in the water, he turned around and walked back. Then they started the ceremony, and Lone Man said, "It is all right, for there are three left." They selected a big lodge and by that time the buffalo masks were taken inside. Lone Man was in there and the Ho'-kaha, a tall blue-gray bird with a long bill and a short tail [probably the heron], was in its place.

There were forty families that went out to White High Butte, now called Sheep Butte. These people separated from the others over in the woods before the Mandan reached the Missouri River. There is a river which runs north at Minot, North Dakota. There is a high butte up there called White High Butte. It is to the north of the Turtle Mountains. Their chief was Four Bulls, as you recall earlier in the story. Four Bulls and all his people had moved up there, building villages along the way until they reached this spot. Sometime in the spring they were living there. The Indians would make a trap of brush and woven hair and put bait inside it. The birds going inside were taken. The birds were fat and good to eat. In the spring a young man, not knowing any better, pulled all the feathers off one of the birds and stuck one of the feathers through the bird's bill and nostrils. There were four medicine men there named Spring Buffalo, Winter Buffalo, Middle of the Summer Buffalo, and Autumn Buffalo.

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[45] Crows Heart has seen the spot and says that it is upstream from the mouth of the Cannonball River at an old village near Butte without Hair on the east bank. This is probably the Shermer Site. There is another Butte without Hair directly opposite on the west side of the Missouri River.

At the time some of the young men in the village went out and caught young buffalo calves and brought them into the village. It was customary to blow up the entrails to dry. The young men blew up some, dried them, putting them over the calves' heads and telling them to go. When the Lone Man created these birds, he had them represent the water by the little spots under their wings. The four medicine men were angry at the way the calves were treated. The birds were angry also. They caused rain to fall for a long time. The water kept rising, getting nearer and nearer to the villages. The people called for Lone Man, saying that the water was coming and covering them. He fixed up the sticks in a circle with a water willow around them. When he finished, he took all the people of the village into the corral around the village. The four medicine men changed into buffaloes. They had a younger brother who was the magpie.

When the water began to cover the village, they started to swim to the Missouri. Magpie had a string around his neck which held the corn. One of the buffaloes was exhausted and said, "In the future there will be plenty of buffalo here and people can come here and hunt them." Then there were three. After a while one more of them was exhausted, and, before sinking, he said, "In the future there will be plenty of buffaloes if the people come here," and he sank.

A third one became exhausted, and he said, "In the future if people come here they will find plenty of buffaloes," and then he sank. There was one buffalo left, and he was swimming along. He saw a high butte in front of him. It was Birds Bill Butte,[46] and he swam toward it. He was completely exhausted when he reached the butte.

Back where Lone Man had the people in the corral, they were saved by the power of his corral. He said, "This cedar and corral is my protector. From this time on, you will always have it." The Mandan under Good Furred Robe traveled northward along the Missouri River until they reached the Heart River, where they joined the others whom Lone Man and First Creator had created at that place. At this time the flood was coming. These people built a large corral south of the Heart River on Eagle Nose Butte where they also were safe from the flood.

The Awigaxa did not have the turtles and cedar to protect them, for they had the Corn to worship. While living on the White Clay Creek and Cheyenne River, the Awigaxa became separated, and the group not having the Corn ceremonies was lost while making sinews near the Black Hills. Before the flood, the others came back to the Missouri River, for the river bottoms were not so large where they had been and not much corn could be grown. They built large villages at the mouth of the Cheyenne, Moreau, and other streams until they reached the mouth of the Grand River. At this time they had corn rites, but there is no mention of the Okipa or the sacred cedar.

When word reached the people who were living at the Grand River that a great flood was coming, they must not have had a sacred cedar since those who

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46. Also known as Eagle Nose Butte.

remained in their villages were drowned while those who escaped to the Rocky Mountains were saved. After the waters had retreated, those in the mountains planted corn out there, but the seasons were too short and the yields were small. The people wanted to return to the Grand River, but other people were living there. Scouts sent out reported that the other Mandan who had lived on the west bank of the Missouri near Painted Woods had left their village, the ruins of which were still standing, to seek shelter in a large corral built by Lone Man near the Heart River. The people decided to move from the mountains and built a village near Painted Woods at a spot where there was much wood.

While living in this village called Awigaxa, Lone Man and First Creator came along and found them. They came along when the water was high during the spring floods and told the people that higher floods might come and that they should have something to protect them. Some of the people thought it would be easier to escape to the mountains, since it took so much goods to perform the Okipa and the rites at the sacred cedar. Others thought that it was more costly to travel so far. Still others thought that the cedar would be useful for other purposes. Lone Man sent a young man a dream in which he saw the buffaloes dancing at the sacred cedar, and the old men interpreted the dream to mean that they should give the Okipa. Some thought that goods should be paid in large quantities equal to the inconvenience of moving to the mountains, and from this time the Awigaxa were the most liberal of the villages in supplying goods for the ceremonies. Lone Man and First Creator came and taught young men who were brave and intelligent how to impersonate the different characters. There were more people in the ceremony than when the other Mandan were taught the ceremony while living far to the southeast. Even the Awaxawi and Awatixa who were living on the Missouri at that time came to make offerings and to fast. The Hidatsa must not have come south yet from the place where they had gone to escape the flood, for nothing is said of them in this old story. After the Okipa ceremony was given, the people were very lucky because there were so many more gods to protect them. Because the people were so lucky, when the wood was exhausted at one place, they built another village near by. No bad luck came to them until smallpox was brought in by the white men.

Chapter VI

THE CORN CEREMONIES

THE Corn ceremonies were of two general groups based on their mythological backgrounds. 796 Either because of purchase or other factors, possibly village union, the two separate 773 ceremonies were consolidated during the memory of the older Mandan. One ceremony which was represented by two bundles was believed to have been performed when the tribe resided under the ground near the mouth of the Mississippi. In this land beneath the earth, the people lived a simple life, depending on corn for their sustenance. They were naked and had neither pottery nor bows and arrows. Their spiritual leader was Corn Father, who, by performing certain rites, caused the seed to germinate and grow, producing the mature plants and ripe corn. The whole tribe relied on him for supernatural guidance. The growing plant was a symbol of his power, and it was believed that the seed would not grow without his rites.

When the people began to come to the surface of the earth by means of a grape vine, the leader of the Corn ceremonies was at the back of the line and was separated from his three sons, Good Furred Robe, Cornhusk Earrings, and Uses His Head for Rattle, and a daughter named Waving Corn Stalk, when the vine was broken by the weight of a woman heavy with child. Calling to his children who had reached the earth, he instructed them to continue the rites as they had seen him perform them. The ceremonial myth from that point traces out the traditional migrations of the tribe, the acquisition of new tools and skills, and the founding of the Black Mouth and Goose societies. In the myth, Good Furred Robe, being the oldest brother, took the leading part. This myth was closely interwoven with the Okipa myth.[1]

After the tribe had completed its migrations and had reached

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[1] See Creation Myth narrated by Chief to his son-in-law, Wolf Chief (chap. iv).

796 773 778 After the tribe had completed its migration and had reached the Heart River region, the three brothers died. Good Furred Robe never married, but, before he died, he sold his sacred robe and, pipe to his brother's son, who preserved it as a sacred bundle belonging to the Corn ceremonies. The three brothers' skulls were taken from the scaffolds and kept in a leather bag as a second Corn ceremony bundle.

778 The Sacred Robe bundle contained the following articles: (1) a robe said to have belonged to Good Furred Robe, on which was painted a map of the world showing the Missouri River as a large snake and the hole through which the Corn People reached the earth; (2) Good Furred Robe's pipe, carved from wood, the stem being carved to represent a goose's head and neck, the mouthpiece being the goose's bill; (3) a headdress of foxskins; (4) a bundle of young white sage; (5) moccasins made of buffalo hide with the hair on the inside; (6) a clay pot; (7) a strip of elkhide; (8) a dried gourd for a rattle; (9) a substance resembling and representing corn silk; (10) one ear of white flint corn, one ear of yellow corn, and one ear of white soft corn; (11) a narrow strip of badger skin; (12) blackbird heads and the head of one green-headed duck; (13) a whitetail deer skull with antlers attached to place the bundle on; (14) three dried squash; (15) one sunflower head; (16) a robe made of kit-fox hides; and (17) a braid of cornhusks.

796 773 778 The ceremonial significance of many of the articles in the bundle are self-evident, particularly Items 8, 9, 10, 14, and 15, since these are products from the gardens. The robe was made from a buffalo heifer's hide. Scattercorn explained that such hides, especially those killed in the late fall, had beautiful hair. The paintings on the hide depicted the traditional migration of the tribe from the mouth of the Mississippi and expressed the close association of the tribe with the Missouri River section of the Plains. The Missouri River was depicted as a huge snake. The robe was believed to have supernatural powers over the weather, and those who wished to have rain for their crops paid the robe-owner to open the bundle and sprinkle water on the robe. He would sing the "Song of the Robe" while sprinkling the robe with water shaken from a bundle of white sage (Item 4 of the bundle). The robe was considered the most important ar-

ticle in the bundle and was believed to have once belonged to 796 Good Furred Robe, who wore it during the various Corn rites. 778

The pipe differed little from other ceremonial pipes. The 773 bowl and part of the stem were carved from wood. There appeared to be a stone or clay lining to the bowl. A second piece of wood was carved to resemble a goose's head and neck. This pipe was owned by Good Furred Robe and, according to tradition, used by him in the ceremonies.

The headdress of foxskins (Item 3), badger fur (Item 11), kit-fox robe (Item 16), and strip of elkhide (Item 7) were represented in the bundle because these animals assisted in bringing the people out of the ground.

The sage belonging to the bundle was the kind kept in all [515] earth lodges and used by the women at the close of a day's work in the gardens to cleanse themselves by rubbing their body and clothing with it. It was said that, in ancient times, worms and diseases were removed by this simple household cleansing rite.

The dried gourd, used as a rattle, was symbolic of Good Furred Robe's brother, Uses His Head for a Rattle, who had assisted in the early Corn ceremonies. The braided cornhusks represented the other brother, Cornhusk Earrings, while all the other articles representing products from the garden were symbolic of Waving Corn Stalk, their sister, who repelled the Sun by walking through the gardens waving her robe, thus protecting her gardens from the heat.

The blackbird heads, duck head, and deer skull have a dual symbolic significance. They represent the birds that come north in the spring and the deer that inhabit the woodlands, but they are also the helpers of Old Woman Who Never Dies. In that sense the bundle ritualism is psychologically related to the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles and rites.

The second traditionally related Corn ceremony bundle is known as the Skull bundle (see Fig. 24). The contents of this bundle are: (1) Good Furred Robe's skull; (2) Cornhusk Earring's skull; (3) Uses Head for Rattle's skull; (4) a bundle of young white sage; (5) a substance resembling and representing corn silk; (6) a headdress of foxskins; and (7) a wooden pipe.

At the time this study was being made, Scattercorn was owner 778 of the Robe bundle and Mrs. White Duck (Rattles Medicine) 796

241 361 796 points was the accessibility to desirable corn grounds. With the prominent place of agriculture in the economic life of these people, it was a logical consequence that leaders of the Corn ceremonies should determine sites for new villages. Although the actual site was selected by the Corn bundle-owners, the laying-out of the open circle and location of the sacred cedar and ceremonial lodge was the responsibility of the individuals impersonating Lone Man and Hoita in the Okipa ceremony.

796 From an analysis of traditions and rites retained after the smallpox epidemics something of the nature of the old corn ceremonies could be determined.

1. There was only one Robe bundle, which came from the Nuptadi Village of the east side of the Missouri.

2. The Skull bundle was of west-side origin and came originally from the Awigaxa band, who were last to reach the Upper Missouri.

3. Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles and secondary bundles belonging to this ceremony were found in all Mandan villages and, in fact, in Hidatsa, Awatixa, and Awaxawi villages. The ceremonies and beliefs with few exceptions were identical between villages and tribes. This seems to be an older, widely diffused Mandan-Hidatsa ceremony to which new practices, particularly the fertility or consecration of the seed rites, were added, based mythologically on a dramatization of corn as people coming from the ground.

CORN MYTH OF THE ROBE BUNDLE RELATED BY SCATTERCORN[8]

773 539 The Corn People were living under the ground by a lake. One day some of the people saw an opening reaching up to the land above, and there was a vine growing in this hole. They asked the Fox to climb up and see this land. He climbed up, but, when he stuck his nose out, he got only a brief look at the beautiful land above because Sun burned his nose.

Then they asked Elk to go up and dig the hole larger with his horns. He made the hole large so the people could get through. The people started up, following the vine. They came up continuously for four days, but on the last day a woman heavy with child broke the vine and ended the migration forever. All these people had been raising the corn on this land beneath the earth.

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[8] For another version of the same myth, apparently also related by Scattercorn, see Will and Hyde, *op. cit.*, pp. 218–23. Also see Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 80 [1923]), pp. 35–48, for data on Good Furred Robe, including data on Corn Priest, Goose Women Society, and Black Mouth Society.

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There were four leaders in the group that reached the earth. They were three brothers and a sister. Their names were Good Furred Robe, Cornhusk Earrings, Uses His Head for Rattle, and a sister named Waving Corn Stalk. Good Furred Robe began to lay out the villages and fields. He laid out the lodges in rows like the rows of corn, and he assigned the garden plots to each family. Then he distributed corn, beans, squash, and sunflower seeds to each family.

In those days the sister would be out in the fields all day overseeing the work. One day a stranger came to the gardens and wanted to talk to her, but she would not see him. He came four times to see her, but each time she refused. That man was Sun. On his fourth visit he said, "What you plant you will not harvest."

The next day when the sun came up, the air was so hot that the corn wilted. After the sun had set, she went through the gardens with her robe singing the holy songs, and the corn plants revived. Sun scorched the gardens four times, and each time she revived them with her robe and songs.

The people were living there when men appeared on the opposite bank and said that they wanted to cross, and the Mandans called them Miditadi after that time. After the Hidatsa crossed the Missouri they camped near the Mandan villages. Some of their young men were foolish, and the customs at that time were quite different, so the older men were afraid that there would be trouble.

Good Furred Robe said, "Our ways are a little different, so I think it would be better if you had villages of your own. If you stay too near us, there will be trouble. If you go too far away, we will be strangers and there will be trouble. The best plan will be for you to travel north until, when you camp, you cannot see our fires. That will be the best place to settle. If you will send your chiefs over in the morning, I will give them all the different seeds we have."

That morning when the men arrived, Good Furred Robe broke an ear in two and said, "My friend, you can take the tip or the butt." The Hidatsa took the tip because he thought that it was the best part. The Hidatsa left that day. The Mandan built fires on the hills, and, when the Hidatsa had traveled until they could no longer see these fires, they stopped and built their village, which was at Knife River.

Good Furred Robe told the people that in the spring they should have certain songs sung when the ducks and other waterbirds came north so that there would be plenty of rain and good crops. He also told them that each family should bring out two kernels of each crop they grew and he would cleanse them so that they would germinate. All that spring and summer, he was painted with red paint and wore moccasins with the fur side on the inside. He wore his sacred robe all that time and could not eat early plums, berries, or garden products until the fall when the corn was ripe and the people announced that they had their seed for the next year. Men brought his meals to him while the crops were growing. He could not sleep with or go near his wives or other women. At the close of these restrictions, those with Corn medicines met, and there was a cleansing feast, after which these restrictions were removed.

Good Furred Robe also told the people that, when working in the gardens, they should burn sage and rub themselves with it to remove the bad spirits of the fields. In those days when he instructed them in that manner, worms and bugs fell from their robes, so the Mandan women set the rule of always burning sage at the close of the day's work in the fields.

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Then he organized two societies, one for the men and the other for the women. He called the society for the men "Brave Warrior Society" or "Black Mouths." He brought in the men to dance. Two were given cornstalks, for only the bravest were to carry them, and he told them that these plants represented the bravest men. In war these two men could get a stick and attach raven feathers to represent the corn. If this staff was stuck into the ground, they could hold the enemy back, and, if the Mandan wanted to retreat, they could pull up the staffs and retreat without being killed. The men were between thirty and forty years old.

He organized a women's society and called it the Goose Society. The older ones would be around thirty years of age and would keep the society for five years. He selected two little girls about eight years old and stood them in the middle of the group. One girl's mouth was painted blue, the other's was black, and both represented geese. Each member wore a gooseskin and head for a headdress. Whenever anyone made an offering to the waterbirds when they came north in the spring or in the fall when they returned to the south, this society met and danced. All others with rights in the Corn ceremonies came out at those times also. The leader of the Goose Society and the last woman in the line both carried small clay pots. People could come to these dances and make offerings of horses, guns, or robes which entitled them to dance in the line, going around the Corn Priest four times, which was a sign that the giver would live to be old.

When Good Furred Robe grew old, he told the people to keep his skull and that praying to it would be like praying to him when he was living. There was a little difference in the way that offerings were made to him. I told you today that, when anyone puts on a feast to Old Woman Who Never Dies, an image of her is put up before the giver's lodge so that all will know that the household has made a feast to her. When feasts to the Sacred Robe or the Sacred Skulls are made, the offering is placed on a post on the prairies near the village.

The inheritance of the Sacred Robe bundle was from Good Furred Robe's brother, Uses His Head for Rattle.

SKULL BUNDLE MYTH RELATED BY MRS. WHITE DUCK

Long ago the Mandan lived together under the ground near the ocean. Some hunters found a hole reaching up to the surface of the land we are now living on and climbed up to investigate. Before they reached the top they heard the bellowing of the buffalo herds. On reaching the top, they found buffalo herds everywhere. Elk, deer, and antelope were in great numbers also. They killed some buffaloes and dried the meat to take back to the people. Then they returned to the hole and went back down to the land below. When the people below learned that game was plentiful up above, they wished to come up at once, but the second chief of the people warned them that fat women heavy with child must not go up at that time.

The people started coming up to the top, but, when about half of them were up, a large woman heavy with child started up. The people said she should not go up but should wait until her child was born. She insisted, but her weight broke the grapevine, and she fell down. This separated the people, half being below and half above.

Before coming out of the ground, Corn was a man. Everyone looked to him to give them success in raising their garden products. When the vine broke, he was still below, but his daughter, Waving Corn Stalk, succeeded in reaching the

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top. She looked back into the hole and cried when she learned that her father was separated from her. She cried, "What shall I do? I am up here all alone."

Her father replied, "You are old enough to understand all my ways of doing things. I give you the right to plant the corn anywhere you wish. Plant the corn anywhere up there, and it will grow, even though you plant it on top of rocks. You have your three brothers with you up there."

After the Mandan had been on the earth a long time, word came that because of angering Manika a big flood was coming. The people separated then, most of the west-side people went to the Rocky Mountains, but the others stopped at Birds Bill Butte south of Mandan, building their village on the highest banks out of reach of the waters. It took a long time for the ones who went west to reach the mountains because there were only dogs to draw the travois. While there they said they would make some holy things to bring the rain when they wanted it, so they killed an elk to get a robe on which they drew a picture of the mountains with the clouds, lightning, and the thunderbird on it. They lived there many years but turned back because it was not a good place to raise corn. The people found plenty of buffalo, but they were disappointed because they could not raise corn. Others did not like the climate with its frequent rains and snowstorms.

While they were in the high mountains, the flood came to the people along the Missouri River, but, when they reached the old villages, the water had gone down. They came to the camp opposite Yellow Earth Village on the west side and there found the old people they had left building a new village, for they had moved up the river from Birds Bill Butte. There was another Mandan village just a short distance up the river from Yellow Earth Village on the same side of the river. We called those east-side people Nuptadi in late years, but they came from one of the two east-side villages, I think it was Yellow Earth Village.

During the time they were up to the mountains the three men whose skulls I have were with them. Many years after they came back the three brothers and the sister died. Since Waving Corn Stalk was a woman, her brother had helped her in the ceremonies to the corn, and, since he could not live forever, he taught others the ritual for corn-growing and asked that the people keep his skull when he died, for praying to it would be the same as praying to him. All three brothers were placed on a scaffold when they died. A year later the flesh had all decayed so their skulls were put in the same bundle which became a part of the Corn Medicine. The sister, Waving Corn Stalk, being one of the Spirit Women, became associated with the bundle for the Old Grandmothers.

OLD WOMAN WHO NEVER DIES MYTH RELATED BY MRS. GOOD BEAR[9]

The Old Woman Who Never Dies formerly lived below the Cannonball River on an island in the ocean, and no one knew there was such a person living there until two young men, Black Medicine and Sweet Medicine, were out hunting. In their wandering, they came to an object on the ground resembling a large baloon. There was a spot on the ground where the ground was bubbling up. These two hunters shot into it with their arrows, and a strong wind came out of it and blew them far out into the water onto an island. When the wind went down, the two brothers looked about and saw an earth lodge and many whitetail deer near by. The two men went to the earth lodge where they found the Old Woman Who Never Dies, and she was glad to see them. She asked how they got there, and the two brothers told of the big wind that had brought them there.

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[9] For a closely related myth see Hidatsa myth concerning visit of two men to Old Woman Who Never Dies in my MS, "Hidatsa Ceremonial Life" (Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago). Also see Densmore, *op. cit.*, pp. 80–84, for a portion of this myth related by Ben Benson.

When they arrived at her lodge, she was making some corn mush, and her spoons were made of clam shells. She had no dishes, so she gave them the pot to eat from. They ate in turn. At first they thought the portion was too small and that there would not be enough, but they ate all they wanted and the pot still remained as full as before they began their meal.

After finishing their meal, they told the Old Woman that they were going out to kill some of the deer, and the Old Woman nodded her consent. They soon saw whitetail deer jumping up everywhere about them, killed two of them, and butchered them for her with their flint knives. They returned with the animals, and the Old Woman expressed her pleasure at their success. She asked them to leave the deer at the door, for she wanted to cut them up for drying and they did. As soon as the boys were inside she told the deer to jump up and run away and to tell all the other deer to stay away from the lodge for a while because the two brothers were good shots.

One day the grandmother told the young men to stay out of sight as it was getting late in the fall, and she was expecting visitors for the winter. The next morning when the waterbirds flew by, the boys saw the Corn Spirits flying to the door of the lodge in groups of two. The young men noticed that all were beautiful women. All were well mannered and timid. Each carried dried meat which was piled in a heap near the center of the lodge saying, "I have come from the northland with your messengers who have shown me the way. Take good care of me or I will die."

Grandmother said, "I will take good care of you and keep you until spring when my messengers go back to the northland for the summer. I will awaken you then and send you back to my people at the Heart River." Then each turned into an ear of seed corn; some were white, others yellow, red, blue, pink, black, or mixed color. She put them away according to their group. The young men saw what had happened and knew that this was the winter home of the Corn Spirits.

The boys stayed around for a while and became homesick; they knew of no way to get home, for they were on an island and everywhere they looked there was water. They thought of fastening logs together for a raft, but the Old Woman said that her grandfather (husband's father) would take them to land. They looked about, but they saw no man. She said, "That is all right; go to the shore this evening and say to the waters 'Grandfather,[10] we want to go home in the morning.' "

The next morning the Old Woman arose early and made four large four-in-one corn balls. They were made of corn, sunflowers, squash, and beans ground together. She gave the two boys the corn balls for their journey would be tiring, since the distance was so great. When the two boys reached the lake shore, they saw a large snake on the water. This serpent had but one eye, which was in the middle of his head. This eye resembled a sunflower very closely except that at times lightning would flash forth. The snake was about thirty feet long and had two large horns resembling deer horns. The Old Woman told the boys to hang onto the horns, sitting on the head while traveling and their grandfather would take them across safely. When ready, the snake started and swam for a long time. When he grew fatigued, the boys gave him one of the corn balls, which refreshed him again. He became fatigued a second and a third time, and each time the two brothers fed him one of the corn balls. Just after giving him the fourth corn ball, the brothers saw land ahead, but the snake did not have strength to complete the journey. One of the brothers thought of some dried meat he had in his pockets and fed this to the snake so he was able to get them safely to the shore. They landed, and the snake disappeared. They thought he went back to the island, swimming under the water.

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[10] One's grandmother's grandfather, man or woman speaking, is also addressed as "Grandfather."

The two men traveled all day and failed to reach home. The second day they traveled until nearly evening when they saw something before them. Coming nearer, they saw that it was a large snake. It was so large they could not climb over and so long that they could not walk around it. They thought the best way would be to burn a hole through it, so they began to gather buffalo chips which they heaped against the snake. When the pile was as high as their heads, they lit the fire. Soon the snake was thoroughly cooked. One of the young men was foolish and suggested to the other that they eat some of the meat, but the wiser one said that it was wrong to do so. Nevertheless, the foolish one ate his fill, remarking to the other that the snake tasted like fish. Still the other would not be tempted.

After finishing his meal, they went through the opening burned in the snake and traveled until dark. They lay down on the prairie to sleep. In the morning the one who ate the snake said something was wrong with his feet. When he removed his moccasins he found that his feet were the same color as the snake's body. He was happy and said, "Now my girl will like me with my pretty feet." The wiser boy thought that something bad would surely come out of it all.

The third night they killed a deer, ate its ribs roasted before the fire, and went to sleep as soon as they had eaten. On awakening the next morning, he found the spots had extended until they were above his knees. The sensible brother was afraid, but the man with the spots thought nothing bad would come of it. The fourth night they camped as before and retired shortly after eating. In the morning the young man's entire body had turned into a snake with one eye just like the snake he had eaten of. His brother was very sad and did not know what to do. He cried aloud, and in a little while the snake spoke to him and said, "Take me down to the river." The other man could not carry him, so he was obliged to crawl. As they traveled toward the river, lightning from the snake's eye set the prairies afire. Finally, they reached the river opposite Birds Bill Butte which were just west of the Missouri River. In parting, the snake said, "My head will be up toward the mouth of the Yellowstone and my tail will be at the Birds Bill Butte. You can tell my people whenever they think about me, to make four corn balls, throw them into the waters, and then pray to me." (I have done this often. People who crossed the river often made these offerings so that the snake would protect them.)

The snake said, "I want you to get me a skunk cap. Make it look pretty.

●773 When you bring it to the river, tie it to one of the red willows and throw it into the water. I'll be there to receive it."

539 The young man made a cap as instructed and threw it into the river together with four corn balls. Afterward the young man became prominent in the tribe. He was successful in war and brought back many scalps. When he first came home, he told his friend's father and mother about their son so they would not grieve. The wise young man became the leader of the tribe and had more power than any of them. Every summer he would go down to the river and offer corn balls to his friend. He also told the tribe about his meeting with the Old Woman who was one of the Holy Women.

Years after this all happened, the Old Woman Who Never Dies moved up the river to Holding Eagles just across the river from Elbowoods, where she would spend the summers. The men on the warpath or out hunting found her there, but none seemed to know how she got there. They thought that she came north in spring with the summer birds. She liked buffalo paunch which she dried before preparing it as food. While she lived there, she had a large garden on the river bottoms just below her lodge. There she raised corn, squash, sunflowers, and beans in great quantities.

While she lived there, Sun and Moon, who lived above in the sky, came down to the earth. These two men, Sun and Moon, had a mother who was getting old and feeble.

Moon said to Sun, "Our mother is getting quite old. I think we should marry."

Sun said, "What kind of girl do you want to marry?"

Moon said, "I want to marry a girl from one of those Corn-sheller villages."

Sun said, "Do you like those women?"

"Yes," replied Moon, "they are good-looking women."

Sun said, "You are mistaken. The women have only one eye with wrinkles all over their faces whenever they look at me."

"Well," replied Moon, "what kind of woman do you want to marry?"

Sun said, "A Toad Woman. When they look at me they have such pretty blue eyes."

"Then," said Moon, "you marry a Toad Woman, and I'll get a Mandan girl for my wife."

It was time to marry. Moon came down to get his wife. There was a large summer village on a flat near the woods. Moon transformed himself into a porcupine and climbed up into a young cottonwood tree. Two Mandan girls came into the woods looking for firewood. They saw the porcupine and one said, "Let's get this porcupine." The younger one climbed into the tree. When she came to the porcupine, he went higher. This continued with the tree growing higher until they could see her no longer. Moon changed himself back to a human being and took the girl into his lodge. Juneberries were growing at the door. At the door of Sun's lodge red willows were growing.

Moon said to his mother, "Go out and get my wife." The old woman found the girl and brought her into the lodge.

Then Sun said to his mother, "Go out and get my wife."

The Old Woman went out and could not find anyone. Sun said, "Look under the brush." She looked under the brush and there she found a large toad. The toad hopped up to the door but could not quite jump over the step. She passed water at each jump. At last she got in the lodge.

The mother brought in the two girls and asked them what they wanted to eat. The Mandan girl wanted the thin part of the paunch, and the toad wanted the thick part. She cooked the paunch and some dried meat. She gave the thin part to the Mandan girl and the thick part to Toad Woman.

The Old Woman wanted to know which could eat the better and make the loudest crackling noise with her teeth. The Mandan girl had sharp teeth and could eat like a wolf. The toad had no teeth, so she tried to chew charcoal so as to make a noise. Everyone laughed at her. Moon laughed at her, and she became very angry. She jumped from the corner up onto Moon's breast and stuck there. Moon cut her away with his knife and threw her into the fire. Then she jumped on his back between his shoulder blades where he couldn't reach her. The Toad Woman said, "I shall stay here as long as I live." When we see the moon up in the sky, the black spot in the middle is that Toad Woman there still.

Moon had a son by the Mandan girl. The girl did not have much to do, so she went out digging wild turnips. One day she pulled up a large male turnip that has no bloom. In taking it out, she punched a hole through the ground and saw the earth down below where she had come from. Everything looked beautiful there, and then she knew where she belonged. She set about to find some means of getting down. She thought that if she had a long string she could get down to the earth. She told her son to ask his father to get all the sinews of a buffalo when on the hunt. The father wanted to know why his son wanted sinews. The Mandan girl said that they were to be used in her work. Moon went out hunting and brought back all the sinews of the buffalo except a little piece from the hip. Then she had a mouse fashion them into a long rope. However, she could only get to the top of the trees because the sinews from the hip had been left out. Moon came back from hunting and could not find his wife. He looked about for a long time. He finally remembered where his wife had been digging turnips. He found the turnip hole and saw his wife hanging down there on the end of the rope.

When Moon saw this, he looked down at her and said, "I will kill that woman."

He picked up a stone from above and sent it down, instructing it to kill the woman but to spare her son. The stone is still to be found near where Holding Eagles live. The stone hit the girl on the head, killed her, and knocked her down near the edge of Old Woman Who Never Dies' garden.

The Old Woman went out to her garden one day and saw the tracks of a little child. She wondered whether it was a boy or girl, so she made a ball of buffalo skin with a stick to hit it with and also a bow and arrows. She lay in the brush near by and watched. While she was there, a little child came walking that way. He picked up the bow and arrow. He shot at the ball.

After the Old Woman saw this, she knew it was a boy and caught him.She put his face against her breast and coddled him. Then she took him to her lodge and fed him corn mush. Her pot was full of mush which never could be completely consumed. The Old Woman told him that he should have a bow and arrows so that he could kill birds. She told him to take the juneberry branch down to the Short Missouri and say, "Grandfather, make me a bow and arrows."

Then she told him to leave it there and come back, adding, "You can scatter red corn around the fireplace so the blackbirds will come in and eat but don't kill any." The boy did as he was told. Many birds came into the lodge

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to eat, but he covered up the smokehole and, taking up a stick, killed many of them.

After he killed the blackbirds, the Old Woman came home. Grandson said, "Grandmother, see; I have killed all these blackbirds so they won't trouble your garden."

The Old Woman said, "All right," and shooed out the live birds before piling up the dead ones. Then the little boy was told to go down to the Short Missouri and get his arrows and bow. He ran down to the edge of the water and found his bow and arrows, which made him very happy.

Meanwhile, the Old Woman went off for a day. The boy learned that the Old Woman traveled up in the air even though she had no wings and could go anywhere she wanted to. After he got his bow and arrows, he was out hunting every day. He always went to the places where his grandmother told him not to go.

One day she said to him, "You keep away from those hills. Something there will get you."

The boy was very anxious to find out what was there, so he went to the hills. A large elk came out of the hills and ran toward the boy, intending to kill him, but the boy didn't run away. When the elk was near, the boy shot and killed him. Another elk came, and it was the doe.

The boy said, "Stop! I don't want to kill you because you are a doe."

She stopped, and he went up to her and pulled out her front teeth which then were very sharp. He threw away the sharp teeth so that the elk could not bite people. He replaced them with big beans so we have the blunt elk teeth of today. He then butchered the bull and brought the paunch in for his grandmother.

The next day he went out hunting again and went quite a long distance from his grandmother's lodge to the edge of the woods. A large bear came out after him. The little boy said, "Stop or I will kill you," so the bear stopped. In those days bears had very sharp teeth, but the little boy thought that they shouldn't have such teeth. He set to work with a stone and filed down the bear's teeth. He said to the bear, "Take me to my grandmother's lodge," and the bear did.

He called his grandmother and she came. "See here," he said, "I have a servant for you who is strong and can pack heavy loads."

The boy had also taken up some dirt and put in the bear's eyes. Since then the bears haven't been able to see as well as they used to. The grandmother was very surprised to see the boy on the bear's back. She said that she was very glad to have a big dog. After the little boy went into the house she told the bear to leave and turned him loose. The bear went back into the woods again.

The Old Woman had a bed surrounded by curtains of buffalo hide. It was made as they used to in those times. Once a day she would take corn mush in a wooden bowl and put it in the bed. After a while she would take out the plate and it would be empty. The boy noticed this and wondered who was in her bed. One day after the grandmother went away the boy opened the bed and found a snake which was the Old Woman's husband. He took his bow and arrow down and shot the snake. He took him down to the Short Missouri River and threw him into the water.

When the Old Woman came home, the boy told her about killing the snake and told her where he had put it. The Old Woman became afraid of him and suspected that he had greater power than ordinary people.

In the morning she told him not to go into the bunch of box elders some distance from the lodge. When the grandmother went away, he went over there. He found two men there butchering a buffalo cow with a calf in it. The boy thought his grandmother would like the calf, so the men pulled out the buffalo calf and threw it toward the boy. He backed off and climbed into a tree to the very top. The men left the calf at the foot of the tree. They then picked up the rest of the buffalo meat and left.

After the men had been away some time they thought of the boy in the tree, and they went back. They took the boy down; he was thin. The calf was still under the tree. The two men told the boy that the old grandmother was their sweetheart but that she would not have them. They wanted her so they asked the boy to hurry and have the ceremonies so they could "walk" with the grandmother.

In the meanwhile she was looking for the boy because she thought that someone had killed him, but she went by the place without seeing him. The boy came home and told his grandmother what the men had said. She thought that she would find a way to get revenge for the way they had made the boy suffer those four days. She told the boy in advance that at the ceremonies there would be both good and poor bows.

She said, "Take the poorest one they have for that will be the oldest one. It will be the best one, for it can even shoot over a hill and kill things."

When the time came for the medicine doings, she prepared corn balls. They sent for the two men, who came also. Bows and arrows were brought. When the boy selected the old bow, the men said that the boy would be lucky. During the ceremonies, the two men "walked with the grandmother."[11]

The two men were about to return when the Old Woman said, "You caused my grandson to suffer for four days. Now, I am going to make you suffer, too." The men did not pay any attention to her and went away.

The winter set in hard and cold. The men made a good living hunting buffalo and elk until toward spring. The Old Woman said, "Now is the time."

Using her whistle, she caused a severe snowstorm to come. It snowed for four days. The men built a temporary shelter to protect their fire. Soon their wood was gone, and they had no more meat. They thought they would surely die. The grandson came and cried. Then the storm stopped.

Some time later the Old Woman said to her grandchild, "Don't go to that red hill over there."

The boy said he wouldn't, but still he had a desire to go there. Finally he went to the hill. The hill was covered with snakes. He reached their large circular den and went in. He sat on a flat rock in the middle of the den which was like the interior of an eagle-trapping lodge. They talked to him, and he told them stories until nearly daylight. He told them about his life. They went to sleep one at a time. Some of them tried to go under him but the flat rock prevented them. Finally, he said he would tell them a story, for all the snakes were drowsy by that time.

The snakes had poles for pillows. He got up after all were asleep. He took his knife out and cut their heads off. One small snake escaped. The boy chased the snake but could not get him as the snake went into his hole.

After he killed the snakes,[12] he remembered what his grandmother had told him about his family. Then he made up his mind to go home. He started home from the big den and did not return to his grandmother.

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[11] This rite was to bring buffaloes near the villages.

[12] See chap. vii, "Eagle-trapping" for ritualistic observances relating to this snake den.

Finally he reached his mother's village at Heart River. He saw that his people were lean and starving. He said, "What is the matter?" At the same time a party was coming back with the meat. He saw white crows in the air crying, "Pas," causing the meat to turn bitter. The boy said, "I'll fix that."

As soon as the crows said the word, the meat became bitter and could not be eaten. The men then threw the meat away, and the crows ate it. The boy caught two birds, a male and a female. He painted them black and made them change their cry to "Ka." Since then the crows don't cry "Pas" any more.

After that no more meat spoiled. The people of the village did not know who the boy was, but they had heard that he was the grandchild of the Old Woman Who Never Dies.[13]

After he changed the crows' color, the people told him about another bad thing. It was about the dogs. The dogs could talk. They would tell stories to the men about their wives running out at night. They thought that it would be better for the dogs not to be able to talk.

In those days the dogs had mouths like humans. The boy took his knife out and slit their mouths from ear to ear. From then on the dogs could not talk.

After that he left the village and went to another one. When he got there, he found that the people had no mouths, although they had teeth. He walked among them and wondered how they ate enough to live. He saw that the people made very rich corn balls and smelled of them. That was how they lived. He asked them why they had no mouths. They replied that they did not know, for they had been that way all their lives, so he cut all their mouths open so they could eat.

When he was returning to the first village, it rained very hard, and he was wet. He sat on the ground. The little snake had always watched for his chance. He was sitting down when the little snake entered Grandson's body and went up into his entrails. He broke the boy's body in two and then went up into his head. He broke the head from the body and went into the skull. The head rolled down the hill and stopped upside down. There came a heavy rain and filled the skull with water. Then the sun shone very bright, and it became warm. The water warmed and almost came to a boil. This is how hot it was. The snake kept going in and out of the hole [foramen magnum]. Finally the skull caught the snake in the hole and squeezed him. The body came together, and the boy was as before.

In those days the snakes had long noses. The boy took up a rock and filed the nose until it was nearly all worn off. The snake said, "Stop! Otherwise, I'll have no nose."

The boy said, "You must never bite the people or bother them."

The snake agreed, saying, "There will be people with medicine to make the snakes harmless from now on."[14]

Then he went over to a little hole and said to the boy, "I won't do any harm to anyone unless he hurts me or tries to catch me." Then he went down his hole. Since then the rattlesnakes haven't bitten people unless disturbed.

The boy came back to the first village and became a great man and leader. He was able to make the buffaloes come close to the village whenever he

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[13] He is No'hąka Tawi'hąka of the Okipa ceremony.

[14] This was the mythological basis for Snake-curing bundles.

wanted to, so that the people always had meat. He had good luck on the 773
battlefield and could bring rains for the crops.

Then he was married. Two sisters were brought to him by their father and 539
mother. (This was the custom in olden times. The parents of children of marriageable age would bring them to some eligible man.)

The boy's grandmother is still living. The people downstream from the Knife River used to follow the river up to her place when on the warpath and eat corn with her. She would tell them now many people they would kill.

She became tired of this because they came too often, so she moved down the river about four miles, then up into the hills to the west where she disappeared. Since then she has been one of the Holy Women connected with corn. She must come back to Short Missouri, as people fasting there during the summer dream of her. Grandson went back to the sky and became one of the large stars.

CORN PIPE CEREMONY

This ceremony became extinct after ~~1837~~ and is remembered 796
only from tradition. The principal article in its bundle was a 778
sacred wooden pipe. The pipe was kept by Blue Snake Woman when her husband and children died during the smallpox epidemic. She surrendered the bundle to a daughter, who sold the pipe to Black Bear, who died a few years ago. The full bundle ritual was not performed after the smallpox epidemic, since those holding rights or acquainted with the ceremony had died.

The pipe was noted for its supernatural powers in producing 778
winds. It was brought out when the days were warm and sultry 821
to drive away the mosquitoes, so that women would not suffer from their bites while in the gardens. People were not permitted to climb on the lodge in which it was kept. If it was dropped or touched, the wind would blow.

According to tradition, a woman went to the Missouri River 778
for water when the river was at flood stage. Driftwood was float- 773
ing down. When she dipped up the water, she saw the pipe and an ear of yellow flint corn together in the water. She took the pipe and corn home and gave them to her husband, who called all the holy men to tell them of her discovery. They were afraid of the pipe because a high wind came up when one dropped it and did not want to keep it. They put it back in the water, thinking it would float on wherever it was going to. The woman found the pipe and corn four times at four different places where they camped. The holy men concluded that, since they had tried to get rid of it but it kept following them, it should be kept. They thought the corn should be divided among the families. In that way yellow flint corn was introduced in the tribe.

796 the purchaser. He could receive instructions and rights in a
778 limited number of fundamental rites to trap eagles without go-
ing into the entire lore belonging to the ceremony. He could
223 then lead trapping expeditions to established trapping grounds, open the lodge, receive the birds brought in by the trappers, and send the spirits away. He could not, however, dig new pits, make offerings to the holy women, or perform the many other simple rites associated with these expeditions. He would not attract the best trappers on his expeditions, as informants stated that successful trappers preferred to go out with leaders who had special rites for all situations likely to arise.

796 Some bundle-owners took particular interest in the mytholo-
gy and rites belonging to eagle-trapping to the extent that
778 supplementary purchases were made. In time, these leaders be-
424 came authorities on eagle-trapping and received popular recognition comparable to specialists in any other pursuit such as warfare or hunting. Whenever such an owner discovered that another had a sacred song or simple rite used in connection with eagle-trapping, a purchase could be made, regardless of the clan of the seller. In this manner new elements modified or supplemented the original bundle rites.

The rites were further modified by vision instructions. When Bear on the Flat received his bundle from his father, Belly Up, he was instructed not to permit anyone to touch the snake poles. Subsequently, Bear on the Flat received a vision from the snakes in which he was advised to permit his trappers to wipe their hands on the poles as the snakes' portion of the meal.

796 Every major ceremony, whether Mandan or Hidatsa, had a
mythological origin, and, in this respect, eagle-trapping cere-
● 773 monies occupied major bundle status. In theory, eagle-trapping
223 was first employed by two classes of small bears, the small black bears that had their pits on the east side of the Missouri River and the small brown bears that trapped on the west bank. There were seven mythological eagle-trapping camps at which these small bears were accustomed to meet in autumn to catch the young black-tipped eagles (see Fig. 29).

The brown-bear camps were at: (1) Thunder Butte; (2) Knife River, near the present town of Golden Valley; and (3) Heart River Ravine, near the town of New Salem. The black-bear

camps were at: (1) One Cottonwood Camp, at the mouth of the 796
Yellowstone; (2) First Trapping Camp, the high ridge south of 773
Sanish; (3) Buckbrush Trapping Camp, south of Shell Creek; 223
and (4) High Butte Trapping Camp, southeast of Like-a-Fishhook Village.

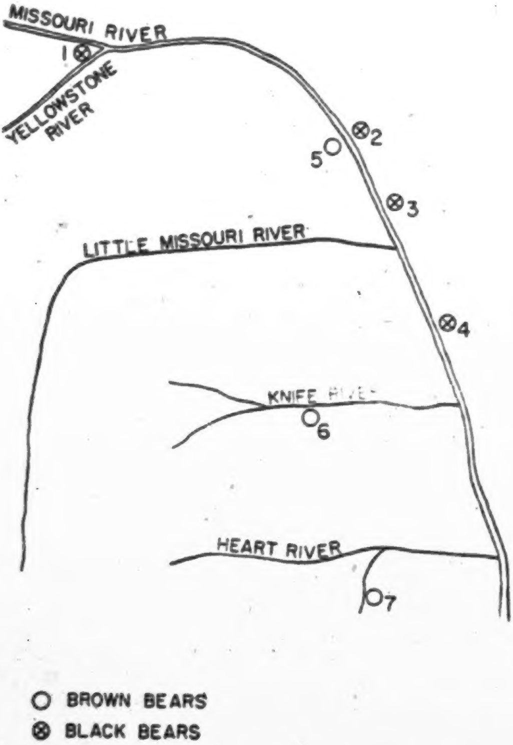

FIG. 29.—Mythological trapping camps of the Bears. *1*, One Cottonwood Camp; *2*, First Trapping Camp; *3*, Buckbrush Trapping Camp; *4*, High Butte Trapping Camp; *5*, Thunder Butte Trapping Camp; *6*, Sand Lodge Camp; *7*, Heart River Ravine Camp.

According to native belief, the small bears had trapped for 796
a long time before the Indians received instruction in trapping. 773
The theory of acquiring this supernatural knowledge conforms
to the tribal pattern by which the world of the sacred is brought 776
to the secular world through the medium of a hero. In this case, the hero was Black Wolf, who had been separated from a hunting party and was saved from starvation by a party of small black bears, then engaged in trapping eagles to the north of the

796 773 776 villages on the east bank of the Missouri River. The method of acquiring this sacred lore is characteristic of most Mandan-Hidatsa bundles, but the particular spirits participating and the contributions made by each is characteristic solely of eagle-trapping. The chief spirit contributors were Old Black Bear, Coyote, Snake, Buffalo, Young Eagle, and Little Black Bear.

796 773 776 533 Old Black Bear taught Black Wolf these songs: (1) song to the lodge (sung when building the lodge); (2) song to the sweat lodge (sung when the sweat lodge was being built and when it was being used); (3) song to the bait; (4) song to the pit; (5) song to the snare; (6) song to the goose; (7) song to the swan; (8) song to the little bear; and (9) song to the bear.

Coyote taught the following song:

My old one   in autumn
here I go (come to)   Your power is strong.

The snakes contributed a song to be used when making offerings to the snake poles, since they belonged in the ceremony because Grandson once visited the bears while the ceremony was in progress.[6]

Buffalo[7] asked to come along and he contributed this song:

Lodge   we have come lodge   they have come

The *ma-si* eagle taught this song:

Earth above   I am walking
Earth on   I am walking

773 539 Several versions of the origin of eagle-trapping were recorded during this study, and they were all essentially alike. Ben Benson, who had secured his rights from Iron Eyes, his father, supplied the following origin myth of eagle-trapping.

EAGLE-TRAPPING MYTH (BLACK WOLF)
RELATED BY BEN BENSON[8]

A long time ago the Mandan did not know how to catch eagles or how to do many of the things they learned to do in later years. In one of the villages there was a young man by the name of Black Wolf who never went far from home. He preferred to stay around camp where he could dress up in fine clothes and call on all the girls. The active young men who were always out away fom the village hunting and fighting the tribe's enemies did not like the way he spent his time with the girls of the village. One night he was sitting under the corn scaffold in front of a young girl's lodge when an old man, one of the announcers of the village, went from house to house calling the names of the best runners of the tribe. He asked that these young men go out in search of the buffalo herds.

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[6] Cf. my manuscript on "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Life" (Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago), for myth of Grandson visiting the Snakes, which slept with their heads on two poles and on opposite sides of the fire in Red Butte; cf. also above for the myth of Grandson, son of the Moon, in chap. vi, on "The Corn Ceremonies."

[7] A bundle containing a buffalo bull skull occupied major bundle status.

[8] For other relations of this myth by Ben Benson see Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 80 [1923]), pp. 64–69, and Martha

When this man came near where Black Wolf was sitting, he arose and went to the man and said, "I want to go. Won't you call my name so I can go?"

The announcer replied, "We have only selected good runners who have a good reputation in the tribe." Black Wolf only asked that his girl might hear him and not because he really wanted to go out in search of the herds. The announcer said, "Young man, come to the lodge where we meet and tell when you want to go."

Black Wolf went to the lodge, and the young men decided to go out at once. Their village was Yellow Earth Village,[9] and they set out in a northerly direction. It was dark when they left. The others saw that Black Wolf was with them and did not like it, for he was always with their girls, and, besides, he did not know the country they were traveling through. One of the hunters said, "We'll give him a good run," so they ran two or three miles, then walked a short distance, after which they ran again. Since they were afoot, Black Wolf soon became tired and lagged far behind. A little before daybreak the leader of the hunters halted the party to sleep for a short time. Black Wolf went sound asleep, and, when he awoke, the others had gone on. "Let him sleep," they had said as they started out. The day was foggy, and Black Wolf did not know where to go, for he had never been so far from home before. He called to the others, but nobody replied. The fog lifted in the middle of the day, and he found that he was far to the north. He walked along and each time he came to a buffalo skull, he took off some of the fine clothes he had been wearing when he went to see the girls until he was naked. Each article of clothing he offered to the buffaloes. He came to some buckbrush and lay down in it looking up into the sky. While there a beautiful calumet eagle[10] came above him, and the boy thought of his father who often shot them. While he was watching the eagle, he saw it come down to the ground and light. Suddenly the eagle disappeared from sight and something black came out of the ground and walked away. He wanted to know what all this meant, so he walked over to the spot where the eagle was seen to disappear. He found an eagle pit with a dim trail leading away from it. He followed the trail leading away from the ravine to a spring of clear water, near which he saw a round grass lodge. The

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Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 206–14. The latter work also includes a version of the myth related by Bears Arm (below, Appendix IV). Another version of the myth by Wolf Chief is reported by George H. Pepper and Gilbert L. Wilson, *An Hidatsa Shrine and the Beliefs Respecting It* ("Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association," Vol. II [1907–15]), pp. 306–18.

[9] One of the east-side villages north of Bismarck known today as the Bourgeois or Double Ditch site.

[10] The eagle with white tail feathers and black tips.

lodge had been made by sticking green poles in the ground in the form of a circle and bending them over at the top so that the lodge was like half a ball. Each pole was less than half the length of a man's foot apart, and the spaces between were filled with grass so that from the outside only the grass could be seen.[11]

On reaching the grass lodge, he saw eagle tail feathers hanging everywhere about the outside of the lodge. Inside he heard someone moving, and then a voice said, "You should bring the firewood."

Someone came out and saw Black Wolf standing there. He went inside and said, "Black Wolf is out there."

Another voice said, "Tell him to come in."

Someone came to the door and said, "Come in."

There was a little fellow in there, and he said, "Sit beside your younger brother." They cooked tender fat meat, and there was plenty of fresh water and dried meat, so that all had enough to eat. There were many people there, and they lived chiefly on young eagles. These people were the little bears. The black ones belonged on the left side and the brown ones on the right.[12]

Next morning someone called, "There is a good wind; the wind is from the right direction."

The little boy dressed and said, "I must go out catching eagles." All the others in the house left, leaving Black Wolf alone all day. When evening came, the little boy returned with an eagle.

Black Wolf said, "Younger brother, I want to go with you next time; it is too lonesome here alone."

The little boy said he would ask his father. The father said, "You may go with him, but you should be very careful."

Next morning they went out, and Black Wolf went with them. The little boy and Black Wolf both climbed into the pit. Black Wolf said, "Younger brother, when the eagles come, let me catch one."

He replied, "That is what father meant when he said for you to be careful. You must be very quick."

The little boy had been catching them by sticking his hand out as bait, and, when the eagle came down, he had been seizing it with the other hand. "This time you better be quick," the little boy warned, "for my hand is out." A bald-headed eagle was coming down; they are hard to catch. Before Black Wolf caught the eagle, it had stuck its claws through the little boy's wrists. Black Wolf pulled the eagle into the pit and took the claws out of the little boy's hand, but the pain was so severe that he cried and went home. Black Wolf walked right behind him, crying too, he felt so sorry for his little brother.

As they walked, Black Wolf saw a pretty leaf and dug to the roots of the plant to get the black sweet roots to chew and put on the wounds, thinking it might help the boy's hand. This root was Black Medicine.[13] He put the root which he chewed up onto the boy's hand, and it felt better immediately. The little boy was happy to be relieved of the pain, and the father inquired of Black Wolf where he found the material, for he wanted to gather some to keep near in case eagles should seize anyone again.

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[11] This type lodge appears frequently in Mandan mythology, but there is no record of its use in any of the recorded expeditions.

[12] This represents the mythological distribution of trapping sites with the Black Bears on the east bank of the Missouri River and the Brown Bears on the right bank.

[13] The introduction of Black Medicine to the ceremony illustrates native belief of the development of a ceremony. Even ceremonial founders draw elements from other sources.

In a few days the little boy's hand was well again. Black Wolf was sitting on top of a hill when the little boy came to him and asked why he was sitting there alone. Black Wolf said, "I am lonesome for my people. At this time of day we had such good times at Yellow Earth Village. I am homesick."

The little boy promised to speak to his father about it. The father said he could go any time he wished, and the boy came back with the news to Black Wolf.

"If father asks you when you want to go, say 'Now,' for 'Tomorrow' means one year from now." The father said he could go in the morning.

Early in the morning the three awakened and dressed. After eating, the father said, "You two boys go out to the side of the lodge and pick the best feathers you can find there." The boys found many good eagle feathers and soon had a bag full of them. The father asked that two bunches of sage he brought and divided into two equal piles and he gave each pile to Black Wolf. He said, "Go south until you come to the highest place. Go up there and put one bunch of sage on the ground and step on it; put the other bunch one step ahead, and step on that, reaching back for the bunch behind you. Step that way four times, and the fourth time you will look ahead of you and see your village."

Black Wolf went south toward the highest hill, where he put the sage down as he had been directed and stepped ahead four times. When he looked up, he was near home, and the sun was just going down. He thought he would stay outside the village until it was dark and then go in.

The old man eagle-trapper had told Black Wolf that, when he arrived home, the chief would bring his two daughters to him to take as his wives. "When you are married to them, come over and see us. Bring one wife.[14] Go a little ways from camp and step on the sage just as I told you, and you will be here at once."

The little brother had said to him after they went to bed the last night, "My father says you will come back. When you come here cry, 'My father, I want a stuffed animal' and keep saying that over and over." The father had heard them talking and asked them to be quiet and go to sleep, but the little boy said that they were only talking about the brother's trip home the next day.

After dark Black Wolf went into the village and walked to his father's lodge, which he found closed. He called, "Father, I am home."

The man said, "Who can that be talking?" The boy had been away so long that he had been nearly forgotten. The father opened the door, saw Black Wolf, put his arms around his boy's neck and fainted. The mother come to the door, saw her son, and fainted also. Soon the parents regained their senses. A bright fire was built up and the boy put the package down. In the meanwhile, the father went through the village calling, "My son whom we thought dead is home." They opened the package and found many fine eagle tail feathers in it. The chief's son was there and saw all the fine feathers. He went home at once and told his father about it, for the young man had longed for a fan made of eagle feathers.

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[14] This would be the older wife, as she was first to partake in the ceremonies.

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The chief said, "If you want a fan, it is best that you let your sisters marry the man."

The young son replied, "You can attend to that better yourself."

The chief ordered his wives to cook some of the best dried meat and corn before inviting Black Wolf in. The two daughters had a bed decorated with porcupine quill flaps.

The chief said, "Sit down there beside your wives. Now get out one of those robes for him to wear." The girls brought out a beautiful white buffalo robe decorated on the skin side with purcupine quills.

Black Wolf thanked them and said, "I am going to take this robe to my other father," and they knew then that he had some other spirits, holy people, somewhere.

Black Wolf walked out on top of the lodge and called, "My fathers, the Northern Black Bears, I have a beautiful white robe here for your bedding." His own father heard all about it and went to his own lodge where he inquired of his wife the number of tanned buffalo robes on hand. The wife thought there were thirty-five or forty. The husband said that he wished to use them. He also asked his parents[15] to furnish robes until, in all, he had a pile of nearly one hundred robes. He invited his son to eat with him and invited all the important men of the village to be there. Then he presented all the robes to the young son, who went onto the roof and offered them to his "spirit" father.

Before leaving Black Bear's lodge, the little boy had said, "When you come back, bring a large corn ball and a wooden medicine pipe filled with tobacco. When you get to the door keep crying, 'I want a stuffed animal.' Keep crying until he lets you in. Let your wife go in first and stand before him. If he says you get a stuffed animal, that is all there is to it."

Black Wolf said to his oldest wife, "We go to the north in four days." When the four days were up, they started. The wife had a corn ball made of four-in-one [corn, beans, sunflowers, and squash]. She carried the corn ball, and he had the pipe. When they reached the highest hill, he gathered four bunches of sage, giving two to his wife and keeping two for himself. He told her the way she should step from one to the other four times. Soon they were before the grass lodge, but the sun was setting so they had traveled all day.

He began to cry, "I want a stuffed animal," repeating it over and over until the old man inside said, "You shall have it." Black Wolf sent his wife in ahead, telling her to stand before the old man. He carried in the corn ball and pipe and put them before the old man.

The old man said, "Sit down. We will fix this up some time later." Black Wolf sat beside the one he called younger brother. The old man took the corn ball and pipe. The pipe was passed around three times before it was lit. Then the little boy said he would light it and eat the corn ball. He broke the corn ball in two, kept half and gave the other half to the others.

They smoked and food was cooked for them to eat. At last the old man said, "You will go home in the morning. After four days at home you must make a sweat lodge of sticks with a pit in the center. Have rocks and water at hand and find an old tepee cover to go over the framework of sticks. All those you see in this lodge will be there. I will tell you what you have to do in the future. Have plenty of food ready. The robes you have prepared must be hung beside the sweat lodge. Before you go home, take your little brother over the hills and tickle him; he will go to sleep at once. You want a stuffed animal. After the boy has gone to sleep, skin out his hind legs and pull the skin over his head but do not cut any of the bones. Stuff the skin and bring it here and put it before me where I am sitting."

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[15] Parents also included all men of the father's clan and their wives.

He did as he was told. Then he returned to his own village with his wife and the little boy.

Black Wolf began to prepare for Old Black Bear's visit. Everything was in readiness just as directed by the Bears. Just before the Bears started, Coyote, the First Creator, came to the Bears and said, "My friends, you aren't going to leave me, are you? You can't leave without me. I will be the one to teach the people how to kill the enemy and strike the coups."

"All right, we'll take you and you can walk with our son's [Black Wolf's] wives.

A large grizzly bear came and said, "Why can't I go along? I can do a lot of work in those ceremonies. I will be the waiter."

Then the buffalo bull came and he said, "I will let buffaloes out around the village. I must go because I will be useful to the people over there."

The snakes, the eagles, and the coyotes wanted to go, and Old Black Bear agreed to take them all.

Just before starting, Old Black Bear said, "We will fix up something for our son, Black Wolf." All were ready to go and just outside the grass lodge Old Black Bear sang a song, and all the others knew it and sang it with him. While they were singing the song, Black Wolf far away heard it and knew that the Old Black Bears were coming.

It didn't take them long to get there. They stopped once and sang the song, went a ways farther and sang again, then still farther and sang. The fourth time they were at the village. Black Wolf saw them and came out with his wife, carrying a large corn ball and the wooden pipe filled with tobacco. He put the corn ball and pipe before the Old Black Bear. Old Black Bear picked up the corn ball and pipe, and returned it to Black Wolf. The party presented Black Wolf with a buffalo skull, and his wife walked[16] with it toward their lodge, the others walking behind. She also had the stuffed animal which represented the little brother, and Old Black Bear gave them two green poles representing the Snakes which always went with the birds.

Meanwhile the sweat lodge was ready and the rocks heated. Old Black Bear said, "My son, watch everything we do. We are tired so we must go in the sweat." The animals put the rocks in and went inside. Black Wolf, from the outside, listened to the song the animals sang in the sweat, which was the sweat-lodge song.

Those are medicine   take of them   a part (portion)
take of them   they are holy

All this meant that Black Wolf and Little Boy had trapped for eagles, and the little boy had hurt his hand. Black Wolf had taken the medicine of the Black Medicine to cure the wounds. It was of this root that the animals were singing.

When they finished the song, they prayed to the animals, and, after pouring water on themselves, came out and said to Black Wolf, "You see how we fixed the sweat lodge; when we come out, we are not tired. You can doctor[17] and cure people with the sweat-lodge baths." This was the first sweat lodge, and this story tells how the first sweat lodges came to the Mandan.

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[16] This act made the woman daughter-in-law to the buffaloes.

After the animals came out of the sweat lodge, they sat down in a circle while Old Black Bear instructed Black Wolf in the technique of catching eagles. Old Black Bear said, "My son can catch eagles from the top of his lodge or he can go out on the prairies. It is better to go out on the prairies; there dig a hole on the side or top of the hill. The hole should be so deep that when you sit up your head will just reach the top of the pit. The pit must be long enough to allow you to stretch out in, and you must face to the west, where the eagles come from in the fall of the year." Then Old Black Bear gave Black Wolf the ritual to follow and the restrictions necessary to catch the birds. First Creator was there and taught Black Wolf how to use the Little Black Bear when on the hunt or warpath.

Old Black Bear gave Black Wolf instructions in the use of fish traps, how the corral of willows should be tied, which baits to use, and the depth in the water to set the trap. When making the trap, Little Black Bear [stuffed animal] should be kept at home in a bed of robes and calicoes with his face to the fireplace. He taught the use of the snare for corraling buffaloes.

When Old Black Bear was giving the instructions to Black Wolf, he had said, "Take good care of your little brother; give him corn balls and corn mush every day."

One day Black Wolf's mother-in-law, while making mush for Little Black Bear, burned her hands and was very angry. She said, "Every day I cook for that sharp-nosed bear, and what good does it do?" Little Black Bear heard and cried because the remarks hurt his feelings. She brought the mush to Little Black Bear and set it before him. In the evening Black Wolf came in and walked right up to his little brother. He saw the tears in his younger brother's eyes and noticed that the little fellow had not eaten the food set before him. Black Wolf inquired why he had not eaten the food, and Little Black Bear replied, "I am angry. Mother-in-law is cross with me and she called me 'sharp-nose.' I am going back to my people, the Black Bear people."

Black Wolf sat down beside him and begged him to stay. "I don't say bad things about you, neither do my wives, so why be angry."

Little Black Bear said, "I will stay if you stay all night with me without sleeping." Black Wolf agreed to the proposition and asked his wives to make up a big feast, for he was inviting all the old men to spend the night with him and Little Black Bear. The old people were glad to sit up all night with him. They sat up all night until nearly morning, when Little Black Bear extended the night another night's length. Still they stayed until it was nearly morning, when Little Black Bear extended the night another night's length. He did this three times. The fourth time the old people all lay sleeping except Black Wolf, who was sitting up sleeping by that time. Seeing that his brother was sleeping, Little Black Bear got up, and quietly returned home to the Black Bears in the north. Black Wolf woke up and saw his brother in his usual place and spoke to him. Little Black Bear did not answer, for his soul or spirit had gone back even though the body remained there.

When Little Black Bear reached home, his father asked why he had returned, and Little Black Bear replied, "She called me names. I left my body,

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[17] The bears were believed to be the greatest doctors.

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and the power is still [illegible] it. They can still use me in catching the eagles, but I will not ha[illegible]ve where I am insulted." 539

The following narrative by Wolf Chief was a part of both his father's and his father-in-law's bundles and comes from the Mandan. The division of the bears into two groups representing two sides of the Missouri River is symbolic of the moiety division of the tribe into an east-side and a west-side seating arrangement for council meetings and the Okipa ceremony. The myth expresses the potency of the snare and gives the traditional origin of a number of songs and rites. 778 773 539

EAGLE-TRAPPING MYTH (BLACK AND BROWN BEARS) RELATED BY WOLF CHIEF[18]

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In the beginning all the Black Bears were said to be living on the north side of the earth, while on the south side were the small Brown Bears. All the bears on the left side of the river, from the Yellowstone and beyond, even down to Knife River, belonged to the Black Bears. The Brown Bears on the right side of the river would know ahead of time the main trails of the eagles and get there ahead of the others from the left bank. There was a place called One Cottonwood Camp, where the Yellowstone runs into the Missouri River. When the birds traveled, they always came through that country. At that time the Black Bears were catching young eagles there and would eat them, for they were tender. They caught only that kind, for they liked to eat them.

Brown Bear called himself the real spirit. He had so much power that he did not have to use bait but could use his own hands to catch them. He selected his place called Thunder Butte where he went to catch the birds by hand. One of the Brown Bears had selected his place, at the Knife River south of the town of Golden Valley where the brush runs to the east, to catch only black tips. He called it Sand Lodge from the sand stones around there. There was another place at Heart River called Heart River Ravine.

On the north side the Black Bears had a trapping place called First Trapping Camp, the highest butte just below Sanish. (The Hidatsa Four Bears used to trap there.) Another place was at Buckbrush Trapping Camp, the flat west of the Mormon church just below Shell Creek. They put up a trap there, for they saw many eagles. The pits were in the hills at The Slides and to the north; another trapping place was below Fishhook to the east on the high banks, and they called it High Butte Trapping Camp. We do not know if it was Sandy Lodge, Thunder Butte, or One Cottonwood that he had his lodge close to.

Brown Bear had a lodge in one of these places. He lost his little boy from one of these lodges. When he disappeared, they looked all over. It was foggy, and they could not see a long distance or find his tracks. After a while they learned that the eagles had hidden the boy. They went far away looking, but it was foggy all the time until they came to the Heart River east of Dickinson. There they thought they had discovered his tracks along the edge of the creek. They thought according to the tracks that he was going to Rainy Buttes; sometimes the tracks were plain, other times dim. The father thought when he came near the butte that they were hiding his son inside the butte. Before reaching the Rainy Buttes, the tracks disappeared. They looked all the way around the butte, and his father said, "I am sure that they must have taken him inside of this butte; I am going to cut this butte down and destroy it. I am going to use my snare to put around it and pull the butte to pieces to see if we can find him inside." Before putting the snare around the butte, he sang a holy song:

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[18] For portions of this myth, also related by Wolf Chief, see Gilbert Livingston Wilson, *Hidatsa Eagle Trapping* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXX, Part IV [1929]), pp. 156 and 214–16.

Acira Acira goes toward the butte.

Then he put the snare (calls it medicine robe) around the butte and pulled. He caved off about half of the butte, but he did not have the power to tear it all down. Still he did not find him in there. He went all over the earth looking around, but still the boy could not be found. At last the boy had been gone for a year, and the parents were very sad. They came back to their camp, and the fog still covered the sky, sometimes clearing slightly and then darkening. All this time Brown Bear's boy was trying to clear the fog, but he was not powerful enough. At this time the young one was alone. The fog was beginning to break, and he could see far. The leaves were taking on color; he remembered his father and mother and knew that it was at this time of the year that his father and mother had a good time. He remembered himself and could tell where he came from, and he knew the location of the camp. As soon as he recognized the place, he sang his holy song while walking toward his home.

I will come to that hill.

Then he came to the hill. He saw timber ahead. He sang:

I will reach that big timber.

He was there at once. He saw the Missouri River.

I will reach that river.

He was there. Then he saw a road and he sang:

I will reach that road.

He was there. Then he saw the door and he sang:

I will reach that door.

He was there at once.

The father was feeling sad about it and was going to do something to the birds for punishment. He went to Eagle Butte and went into a pit. He would spit on his hand and hold it out. The eagles would come down, and he would seize them. Sometimes the eagles would fly up nearly to the sky, and then he would hold up his holy snare. Then the eagles would come right down. After that all these places were good ones to catch eagles. The Brown Bears would have a lodge. One with a son had more power than the others. He would take out his snare, and that would draw the birds down. They would say that he was the most powerful one in the lodge.

They were supposed to leave for the traps when the leaves began to change color. The Brown Bears had one lodge. The youngest one wanted to go trapping, but the father said that he was too young. Still he insisted that he knew the holy songs and their order, so he went out without the father's permission. He was in a hole watching the eagles, and while there he went to sleep. The eagles picked him up and took him away. All that time on the eagles' side there was a leader who said when he picked up the little bear, "He is sleeping down there; this is a good chance to take him away." This bird was a large one, the largest of the birds. The little brown bear's father wondered what had become of him and went out the second day to see. When he came to the pit, he saw from the signs that the birds had picked him up and carried him into the sky. When he learned this, he came back and was very sad. He thought that he would catch the leader among the birds, the one who caused his son to be caught. He made plans at once to catch the bird. At his lodge there were five of these small brown bears, but one was the leader.

The old one said, "I will try to catch that big bird, for that is the one who took the boy above. I think that bird will come along about tomorrow or the next day." The leader of the Brown Bears stood up and said, "That big bird has started already," and when he went outside he sang:

Where I have my trap it is already; catch the one I want to.[19]

He said to the older bears, "I will go out repeating that song on the way to the pit. When I bring that bird in, you repeat that song, take the bird, and throw it to the head of the lodge as hard as you can."[20] He went into the hole, and soon the big bird was in the air above him. He pretended to be asleep, and the bird came down. He picked up his snare and sang the holy songs. When the bird was near, he threw his snare up, caught the bird by the legs, and pulled him down. When he caught the bird, it began to beg saying, "Save my life."

Brown Bear said, "No, I am going to sit on you," meaning that he was going to eat the bird. He tied the bird up and carried him home. When he was near the lodge he cried:

I am trapping. I am holy. I know I am
I am trapping. I have caught him
I am trapping. Now I know I am going to eat.

He came back to the lodge and gave the bird to the others to seize and throw as hard as they could to the head of the lodge. All that time the bird was begging them not to kill him, but the bear who caught the bird said, "Do not listen to him but get that clay pot ready to put in the fire for we will eat him."

The bears were singing while they were getting ready. They sang:

Put that pot in the fire. We will eat.
Take your knife out and get ready. We will eat.

The bird said, "I will be with you and be a great help in the future. I know that you have much power, for I can see that. If you have my help, you will have still more power."

They sang:

Acira [Small Brown Bear] your pot moves toward the fire.
Your pot is already in the fire.
Acira your pot is boiling.
Acira your pot is nearly red hot.
Acira your pot is boiling.

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[19] Song of the pit.

[20] This explains the practice of throwing the birds violently to the head of the lodge.

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At this time they decided to sing their holy song which was the Knife Song to be used when butchering the bird. The bird jumped up again and promised that he would be among them forever and that he would help them along, too, and give them success in the future in whatever they should do. They asked of the bird, "How would you help us?"

The bird said, "You will call me Acira's sister; you will pick up any kind of stick and tie a small offering of leather to it, and that will be myself. When you want to get more eagles, you can say a prayer to me, and you will succeed, for I am the leader of these birds. This will go on forever, but, if you kill me, you will eat me up, and then you will have nothing to show. It may be in the future that some woman will have monthlies. The eagles are afraid of them then. There is a holy song[21] that I will teach you, and, if there is such a woman, you will have it to protect you. Then you will not have bad luck but get good luck from the eagles."

They said to the bird, "We will take your word for it, but we will give you orders that in the future you must not claw the humans, for if you do, we will get rid of you and kill all of you."

They said among themselves, "We will let the bird go, but we will put the snare around its neck with black medicine. If he disobeys what we say, having the snare around his neck, we have a chance to sit on him [eat him] again."

The leader said to the bird, "Remember what we said and do not scratch any of the people, for we are going to trap for a long time in the future. We do not want any trouble from you."

This was kept up for a long time until a few years ago.

Even in my time if some woman with monthlies did not report it, the tail feathers were poor.

On the east side at The Slides, in the brush, there were about thirty black bears who had trapping places on the high hills from Lucky Mound to Joe Black Bear's home today. They had another pit in the buckbrush west of where the church is, for they saw many eagle feathers around there and thought it would be a good thing to have a trap. This pit near the buckbrush was the best of all, and they decided that, instead of using them all, they would take turns at that pit; the first man caught five eagles and the others stayed on the butte to watch. Eagles would fly over there and then disappear in the ground. Five birds would be caught there nearly every day. They used the pit for two years and hardly used the others at all, for so few birds were caught in them. They came back to try the trap again and did not succeed, so they thought that someone had spoiled it. All the time they were cleansing themselves, and then they went to the pit to see what was the matter. They cleaned out the pit and found a flint knife in it and knew at once that the bad luck was caused by the knife. The leader cleaned the pit, but still they did not succeed. They watched the sky and saw that the birds would go into the air and fly around, then go away. Even the others were having bad luck. After catching only two eagles, they decided to give up. They do not know who spoiled the pit. After all the acira had gone away the people had pits there, and they never learned why the pit was not as good as formerly.

I never heard what became of the little boy.

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[21] Song for menstruating woman. See the account of Bears Arm, below, Appendix IV.

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Big Cloud's bundle was not complete; Iron Eyes had a main one.[22] Small Ankles would put up the lodge and put the snake pole in with the buffalo skull. He tied it into place with dark sage. I heard that once Old Woman's Grandson came in so they had the two poles brought in at that time to represent the snake.[23]

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With respect to inheritance of trapping rights, rather marked differences exist between the Hidatsa and the Mandan. The former employed exclusively transfer from father to son or from individuals standing in the father-son relationship. Not a single instance of variation from the rule was observed except in the instance of Big Cloud's two sales to Wolf Eyes and Small Ankles. No doubt that exception can be traced to the circumstance that, though belonging to the Hidatsa Water-buster clan, Big Cloud lived in one of the Mandan villages with his Mandan father and Hidatsa mother. Hidatsa sales of trapping rights followed the normal pattern of bundle transfer from father to son, with a clan brother of the seller acting as sponsor to give instruction and prepare the bundle. Frequently a purchaser's brothers assisted in a joint purchase, taking possession upon death of the brother, but the next transfer would be to the son of original purchaser or his brother's son.

The small village of Awaxawi apparently had been strongly influenced by the Mandan, and clan inheritance was followed if the two bundles purchased just after the smallpox of 1837 were characteristic of all bundles formerly in the village prior to that epidemic.

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Mandan inheritance of eagle-trapping bundles was affected by numerous factors. Except for the last generation in which it was from father to son, or other individuals standing in that relationship, inheritance was generally from one standing in the relationship of *pta'wadato'dE*, a special kinship term for the mother's brother and the mother's mother's brother. In tracing back inheritance of Mandan eagle-trapping bundles, one is impressed by a sudden change within a single generation to the Hidatsa pattern of purchasing from the father.

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Iron Eyes' bundle had belonged in the WaxikEna clan for several generations. He purchased from his mother's brother before the Mandan united with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook

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[22] He means the principal bundle.

[23] See the myth of Old Woman Who Never Dies, chap. vi, above.

796 head. If you drowse, you will roll off of it, and in that way the rock won't let you go to sleep.

223 When earth is taken from the four corners of the pit, a prayer is spoken assuring you that everything harmful to the human body or spirit has been removed. Persons going into pits can't scratch themselves or the birds will have poor feathers. They will be old birds and covered with insects.

796 223 773 When Black Bear was on the earth, he ate birds and everything else he could catch. One day he was in the pits when he heard a thundering noise. This noise recurred for three days. On the fourth day a large rock fell on him. While he was unconscious, Buffalo packed him off to the north where the old bears lived. Father of Black Bear was there after the boy was taken north. Buffalo was at the head of the lodge alive. The father of the Black Bear set fire to the lodge. As Buffalo was coming out, Old Black Bear caught Buffalo long enough to singe him from the chest down; that is why the hair is long on the buffalo's back but short on the chest; that is also why the buffalo skull is placed at the head of the lodge, for he is lucky and will bring good luck.

Crows Heart represents the Black Bear Cub who once packed an earthenware vessel on his back and wandered aimlessly about in the neighborhood of the Heart River. There he was met by two Mandans, called the Two Men, on the high ridge six miles south of Bismarck and nearly opposite the Huff site. One of the Two Men was foolish; the other was wise. The foolish one asked of Black Bear Cub, "What do you eat? You carry that pot on your back for nothing."

Cub said, "I have plenty of food, and I can cook my meal any time I want to."

Saying that, he spit on his left arm and sang a sacred song. They heard a sound in the skies, the noise made by an eagle coming down to perch on Cub's uplifted arm. When it lit, Cub strangled it with the hemp rope which he put over the bird's head. Then he began to pull out the feathers. After that he packed the meat into the kettle. Although the kettle was small, he was able to pack it all in. When the meat was ready, he placed four bunches of sage in the form of a square around the pot, singing this song:

> Water flow into the kettle.
> Fire burn round the kettle.
> Kettle boil.

Everything took place simultaneously with the uttering of the words. The fourth song said:

> This kettle is sacred.

And his meal was cooked. In this manner he got a meal from little effort.

The Two Men thought they should live leisurely also, so they stole the kettle and ran away to hide in all the prominent hills with names. Every time they went into one of the hills, Cub would come with his rope and pull the hill down. Then the occupants of the hill would drive the Two Men out. So they went from hill to hill, the Killdeer Mountains, Thunder Buttes [south of Sanish], Eagle Buttes, Birds Bill Butte, and then to Dog Den Butte where the hills now lean. Dog Den Butte was the home of many gods and was considered very holy. The Two Men fortified themselves there. Cub came with his rope, which he threw around the hill, and pulled on the hill.

The Two Men, having no other place to go, gave themselves up. Cub was going to kill them, but they said they would be his servants and do his hunt-

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ing. On the eagle-trapping expeditions these two men supplied the meat for 223 the camp. This party being small, only Crows Heart has that office. He should 773 sleep opposite the Old Black Bear.

You should be tortured and cry for the birds to have good luck.

KINDS OF BIRDS

1. Bald-headed Eagle. White head and white tail. Parent to speckled eagle. 223
2. Speckled Eagle. 825
3. Spotted-barred tail. Body is black.
4. White tail with black tip. Known as the calumet eagle.
5. "Half of each feather good, half bad."
6. "Black but has white tails"; head is white; is a hawk.
7. I'pamasina.
8. Chicken hawk. Tails barred black and light brown.
9. Goose.
10. One of the smaller geese.

The twelve sticks on the altar represent the twelve tail feathers but also represent the ten birds listed above. 223

When in the pit one must not smoke. When you get in, even up the grass and while you are away from the pit hide the poles put on top to keep grass from blowing.

When tying the bait, be sure to put it close enough so that you can reach the bird. You will get a wooden pin from the leader to stick into the wall for the snare to hang onto. When catching an eagle, grab one foot first; then the bird will pull away from the pit; get a hold of the other foot and hold both feet with one hand; then fold its wings over and choke it with the snare.

The second day in camp was usually spent digging new pits or cleaning out those previously used. The walls of old pits were often broken in. Care was taken to remove all the earth in baskets or robes to a place where the birds would not see it or the people walk on it.[32] The pits should be deep enough for the trapper to sit upright in but not quite long enough to stretch out full length in. Most trappers had their pits on the tops of hills near the northwest edge, but it was believed that the best pits were those on the northwest slope, about three rods from the top of the hill, so situated that there was an open view for many miles westward. Birds approaching from that direction while still flying high in the air could see the bait.

In alighting, they would fly beyond the summit of the hill and turn back to light, facing into the west wind. It was difficult to find a good natural location. Should the pit be too near the rim, the birds lit too far back and were likely to sense danger while walking up to the bait. On the other hand, pits located too far

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[32] This was done because the pit was sacred.

ing of trappers was performed the evening that the pits were 796
completed. 223

Ordinarily when a party was composed of advanced middle- 785
aged men, none were tortured, except on occasions when the birds would not stop, or when the winds continued from the wrong direction, there would be fasters on the hills crying during the night. If bad luck continued, then some would offer their bodies for torture and even cut off a piece of finger as an offering to the birds. In historic times there seems to have been somewhat more emphasis of the torture feature when eagle-trapping by the Mandan than the Hidatsa. Since we know from historic accounts[35] that the torture feature was highly developed with the Mandan, it appears that there occurred a transfer from village to nonvillage rites, the latter taking place when on hunting, eagle-trapping, and war expeditions.

Someone was selected, generally one of the waiters, to go out 223
before daylight to determine the direction of the wind. The wind
must be from a westerly direction, or it was believed that the [825]
birds were not traveling. Crows Heart explained that the calumet eagles nested in the Rocky Mountains and that the pits were located along the migration route to their wintering grounds to the southeast.[36] A piece of soft hide tied to the top of a pole placed on a high hill within view of the camp was employed to indicate the direction of the wind. If favorable winds were blowing, the leader was notified. He ordered all the trappers to prepare for trapping. None was allowed to eat before going out to the pits, as trapping was considered a form of ceremonial "suffering for the birds." Each trapper left shortly after daybreak for his pit, carrying his bait, a ceremonial fiber snare painted red with a piece of Black Medicine attached to it, and several leather snares. The bait was tied to two stakes driven into the ground four inches from the west edge of the pit. A shallow

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[35] See Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, XXIII (Cleveland, 1906), 331–33, 377–78; cf. George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I (Philadelphia, 1857), 265–75.

[36] Benson explained that the southland was the meeting place in winter of many 825
creatures considered holy. Among these he included the thunderbirds, eagles, hawks,
ducks, geese, cranes, herons, as well as the spirits of the corn and other garden products. 773
This meeting place was an island where Old Woman Who Never Dies lived in her large earth lodge with four large snakes living in the water surrounding her island as her helpers.

796 over from the women's camp. Afterward the trapper smoked.
Each trapper, after eating, discussed happenings at the pit, and,
223 from the information thus supplied, the leader offered suggestions
for increasing the catch. When birds circled the bait but
would not come down, it was suggested that raw meat be used.
Sometimes the birds flew by without appearing to see the bait,
and decoys were recommended.

223 The leader did not have a pit for his own use but remained in
camp. However, if the wind was from the wrong direction in the
morning and the men were out hunting game, he could go into
any of the pits should the wind change to the west.

223 Evenings were spent in storytelling. The leader would acquaint
● 773 the trappers with the myths associated with eagle-trapping.
There were many of these myths, and a good leader would
538 be able to consume every evening for the usual four weeks in
camp without exhausting his stock. Each was related in great
detail with endless repetitions. Some of the longer myths consumed
four nights in telling; others were short and could be related
in one night. All were expected to listen attentively while
seated on a buffalo robe. Those who nodded were pinched with
the bird stick. An example of the stories told is given in the
Appendix.

223 The position of women in eagle-trapping ceremonies varied
among bundle-owners. (1) Most bundle-owners prohibited
562 women from entering the ceremonial lodge or looking inside.
(2) Several bundle-owners had special rites to which women
were invited when birds had been caught. (3) A few bundle-owners
[841] required a menstruating woman to come into the lodge
and breathe the smoke from sage burned at the four corners of
the fire pit.

223 Unless special rites relative to the women were purchased,
562 they were required to stay away from the ceremonial lodge and
841 its vicinity. The right to bring women into the lodge was a separate
171 purchase not essential to trapping eagles. There were separate
songs and a myth, giving the right to call in a menstruating
woman, which could be purchased. It referred to the capture of
the leader of the eagles who, in return for having her life spared,
promised unusual success if her song was sung when a menstruating
woman was brought into the lodge. The consensus of both

Mandan and Hidatsa informants was that women took a more 223
prominent place in Mandan than in Hidatsa ceremonies and 562
that bringing women into the lodges was a Mandan rite that 841
some Hidatsa bought. This native belief is borne out by a woman's
right to perform the Okipa ceremony with her brother's 171
assistance and to own bundles of deceased relatives until a successor
had qualified.

In the selection of eagle-trapping territory, consideration was 223
given to the suitability of the region for hunting. Some informants 224
thought that not more than one-third of the days were suitable
for catching eagles. When the winds were not from a westerly
direction, the party went out hunting and received their
orders from the Chief of the Hunters, whose place in the ceremonial
lodge was near the head of the lodge on the left side and
opposite the leader.

The office of Chief of the Hunters was filled by the leader 223
when selecting the places for the men when first entering the 224
lodge. In mythological times, Two Men[40] discovered Black 773
Bear's cub carrying a clay pot in which he cooked his food mysteriously,
and, resolving to live leisurely thereafter, they stole
the vessel. The cub chased them into Dog Den Butte and captured
them with his snare. Cub contemplated killing them, but
they agreed to do the hunting[41] for the eagle-trappers if their
lives were spared. In time they acquired the position of leaders
of the hunters.

The eagle-trapping territory was distantly removed from the 223
summer villages in a region not occupied permanently by any 224
tribe.[42] Except for sites on the east side of the Missouri River,
the territory was deeply eroded with isolated wooded areas
along, and adjacent to, the principal streams. The badlands region
along the Little Missouri River and its tributaries was a
favorite habitat of the elk, black-tail deer, and mountain sheep.
White-tail deer remained more or less in the wooded bottom
lands of streams, while buffalo and antelope ranged in herds and
bands on the high grass plains a few miles from the principal
streams.

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[40] See my manuscript on "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization" for an account of the exploits of these two characters.

[41] Their medicine was the arrow.

[42] See map of eagle-trapping camps (Fig. 28).

Chapter VIII

CATFISH-TRAPPING CEREMONY

THIS ceremony was associated with the eagle-trapping 226
bundle, and both possessed a common mythological origin 796
from Black Wolf. There was no direct reference to the fish trap
in the Black Wolf myth, but in theory the sacred snare could 773
catch anything. Crows Heart explained that even a buffalo cor- 789
ral was in reality a large snare, so a man owning a sacred snare
was selected to stand on a high hill and by means of motions,
as of snaring the buffaloes, pulled the animals by its magical
powers into the corral.[1] War leaders took their sacred snares
along when looking for enemies for supernatural aid in ensnar-
ing and destroying their foes.

Purchase of catfish- and eagle-trapping rites could be made 223
simultaneously, or the fish-trapping rights could be bought at 226
a later date. Some men bought rights in only one of the cere-
monies. A seller possessing rights in both ceremonies could sell 424
each ceremony four times. Associated closely with these two
ceremonies were the sweat lodge and the snare rites for doctor-
ing and officiating at the buffalo and antelope pounds.

Although the Missouri River carries considerable sediment, 226
catfish are very abundant. The presence of catfish bones in 262
ancient Mandan and Hidatsa villages indicates that consider- 172
able use was made of these fish as food.

When a fish trap was in use, the black-bear hide was kept in 226
the owner's lodge, laid out on calicoes on a four-post standard 796
with its head pointing toward the fireplace. Food was offered to 778
the bundle each day while the fish trap was being used.
Ben Benson remembered these Mandan who had catfish- 424
trapping rights about 1880:

1. Black Tongue (Big Turtle). He was also custodian of the Okipa turtle drums, Hoita in the Okipa, owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, and a singer in the Corn ceremonies.

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[1] Refer to my manuscript, "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization," for an account of the ceremonies associated with the buffalo corral.

Chapter IX

BIG BIRD CEREMONY

796 173 THE birds belonging to this ceremony were classed in four groups: (1) hawks, ravens, and crows; (2) young calumet eagles; (3) old calumet eagles; and (4) bald eagles. According to the myth, the thunderbird was considered a relative of these birds, while in other myths the thunderbird was referred to as any one of the four groups of birds listed above.

796 821 The various rites were frequently referred to as the Thunderbird ceremony. However, birds other than those included in these rites, as well as the Sun and Moon and the snakes, were believed to possess the supernatural power of producing thunder and lightning.

796 778 773 There were two principal bundles appertaining to the ceremony. The Black Medicine bundle owned by Red Buffalo Cow (Prairie Chicken clan) was traditionally founded by Black Medicine, while the Sweet Medicine bundle was believed to have been founded by Grows in Lee Places, his twin brother. The latter bundle was last owned by Sand (Speckled Eagle clan). These two bundles came from Nuptadi Village. A second Black Medicine bundle owned by Little Shield (Prairie Chicken clan) [614] came from Fort Clark Village. The linked character of the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle clans was expressed by the inheritance through the clan of two closely related bundles from two "brothers" of different clans.

The two bundles had a common mythological origin based on the exploits of two brothers. The myth was supplied by Ben Benson, while much of the data on rites relating to the bundle were secured from White Calf.

773 539 BIG BIRD CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY BEN BENSON[1]

This account goes back to the time when the villages were near the mouth of Heart River. Chief Bird was the head man of one of the villages. His sons

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[1] For another relation of this myth by the same informant see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," XXXII [1938]), pp. 53–62.

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by different mothers were named Black Medicine, after a root used to cure scratches from eagle claws or bites from rattlesnakes, because he was made of black medicine, and Grows in Lee Places, after a brown plant. The older boy, Black Medicine, was sensible; the other one was a little foolish and did not respect people or think anything was holy. Both were good hunters and went out often.[2]

One day Black Medicine said, "Let's go out hunting; we have not been out for a long time. If we kill a fat elk or buffalo, we can have a fine meal." The other agreed, so they went out and soon killed a deer. They cooked the meat and enjoyed themselves eating it. They went on and killed another, which they carried along until it was all eaten. They were surprised to find no more game, however far they traveled. Soon they came to a timbered coulee and saw smoke. They knew someone lived there, so they went in the direction of the smoke. They found the smoke coming out of a grass lodge, but, when they reached the door, a man walked out with something on his back without paying any attention to the two hunters. The two brothers could not understand that but walked into the lodge. The entire interior of the lodge was fixed up with fresh grass to lie on, while ribs, tongues, and legs were roasting beside the fire. The two sat down and waited for someone to appear. They waited a long time, and nobody came.

The foolish one said, "What is the use of sitting here? Let's eat this."

Black Medicine replied, "No, the owner will come back."

The foolish one was very hungry and, never respecting others anyway, said, "I am too hungry; I am going to eat."

When he had eaten nearly all the meat, Black Medicine ate what remained. They found water in a bag and drank of it.

They slept comfortably in the grass lodge until morning. Before leaving, they picked the bones from any meat they could find and left. As they were leaving, the foolish one asked, "Who can that fellow be who paid no attention to us? He went to the southeast. We should go that way and see who he is."

They went in that direction and hunted a little but could see no game of any kind. They traveled until the sun was low. They were on a high bluff overlooking a deep ravine when they saw the smoke again. They went in the direction of the smoke, and, when they reached the grass lodge, the same man with something on his back passed them without looking at them or speaking.

The foolish one said, "This is just the same as yesterday, and he isn't going to come back." The foolish one took his meat and turned it over once to brown it a little, but left some for the morning. They slept in the lodge and next morning ate all that was left. One of the young men said, "We will go after this man, for it looks like something will happen to us."

This day they looked only for the man who behaved so queerly. When the sun was low, they came to a deep ravine and saw smoke below them; then the grass lodge came into sight. One of the young men said, "That man smells us before we get to his place. That is why he leaves." So they studied the winds and came up against the wind until they were close. One brother said, "We must go up quietly and try to get as close as possible. When he comes out, we can seize him."

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[2] The two brothers, one wise and the other foolish, suggest the Two Men of Hidatsa mythology and the First Man and Foolish One exploits of the Mandan Okipa ceremony.

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They crept up quietly, one on each side of the door, and, when he came out with the bundle on his back, they seized him. The bundle was thrown to the ground, making such a noise that people a long distance away could hear it. The bundle burst, and deer, buffalo, elk, antelope, and all the big animals ran all over the earth. The two men knew then that he was the one who had been holding the game in his power. The man ran away, and nobody knew who he was. The two brothers said there would be plenty of game the next morning.

In the grass lodge that the mysterious man had deserted so quickly they found plenty of meat to eat, so they remained there overnight and went on in the morning. They saw all the big animals that had been freed, and the hunting was good. All at once they saw something white on the ground. It was bubbling up, and the foolish one shot into it with his arrows; then they went on. Soon they saw a big white cloud coming [a tornado]. It was making a loud noise and with it was a strong wind. Black Medicine said to his brother, "Come to me." He tied the two of them together with the sinews of their bows. The winds took them into the air, and they did not know where they were until they passed the river where the Arikara grow corn [Grand River, South Dakota]. The foolish one did not think it a bad place to be, for up in the air, at least, they did not have to walk. Evening came, and Black Medicine sang his medicine song. Then the wind went down, letting them descend to earth again. They found themselves on an island among many islands with water as far as they could see.

They looked about and one said, "What can we do now? Here we are on a small island with water everywhere, but there seems to be plenty of game to eat." They did not hunt that night but went to sleep at once, for they were tired from their ride through the air.

The next morning they did not know what to do. Black Medicine said, "Let's go along the edge of the water and see what this island is like." Soon they came to a well-used path and knew that someone lived on the island. The path led to a large earth lodge, and they saw the cornfields and gardens on all sides of them. They came to the earth lodge and walked in, where they found only an old woman [Old Woman Who NeverDies] who was glad to see them. She said, "Here are my two grandchildren, sons of Chief Bird. Have you come to see me?"

They told her of the wind, and she said, "You boys can stay here, for I think you are hungry. Help yourselves to that mush." The boys did not think there would be enough, and she read their thoughts, saying, "Stir it up." The vessel was full again. They ate most of the mush and stirred the balance up again.

After they had been on the island two days they thought they should do some hunting. They did not go far until they saw a white-tail buck and shot it. The animal was butchered where it fell and then they presented it to Old Woman. She said, "You boys did well; eat it. I don't eat that kind of food myself; I eat only antelope and buffalo. I will take the deer outside and make dried meat of it."

When she got the deer outside, she said to the animal, "Get up now and run away. Don't come near, for those boys are good hunters."

When she returned to the earth lodge, she said to the boys, "If you kill white-tail deer, don't bring the meat here; cook it out in the woods and eat what you want, for the white-tail deer look after my gardens for me." After that they ate the meat in the woods. Sometimes they would stay out in the woods as long as three days at a time.

One day Old Woman told them not to go out hunting that day but to hide near the wall of the lodge and be quiet. Soon they heard the noise of two people coming in; then some more people came in. Looking out from under their robes, the two boys saw that the visitors were all women. Each woman had brought in dried meat which was heaped in a pile. As the meat was put on the pile, each woman would say, "My leader, take good care of me and give me this."

One woman had something in her robe and wouldn't show it. The others asked her what she had, and she said, "I have something here but it isn't very good. That is why I don't like to show it." She took it out and it was an earthen pot full of cooked corn and buffalo-foot cords. The others said, "That is good food." The boys observed everything carefully, learning that these women were the corn who had turned themselves into humans.

After the women finished talking, the Old Woman Who Never Dies said, "I am so glad each of you brought me something. I am going to keep you until spring,[3] and I will take good care of you." When she said that, each woman turned into an ear of seed corn, and Old Woman put them away in different places according to the kind of corn they were. She took the meat to use during the winter.

One day the boys were sitting quietly gazing out across the water when their grandmother asked them why they were so quiet. They told her that they were lonesome and could see that they had no way of going home. She said, "I am glad you have come to visit me. You get ready to go home tomorrow. I will fix you up a meal of four-in-one corn balls. [Four-in-one corn balls were made of ground corn, beans, and sunflowers, to which boiled squash was added.] I will make you four of these corn balls."

The next morning after breakfast she gave the corn balls to the boys and instructed them to go to the shore and call, "Grandfather, come out and take us across the water." She explained, "You will see the waves moving, and a large snake with a single horn will come out of the deep water. When he reaches the shore, tell him he is not the one you want. Call again, and there will be another snake with two forked horns but send him back, also, for he is not the one either. A third one will come out, and you will see a growth of young willows and small cottonwoods between his two horns. Tell him he is not the one you want either. Call 'Grandfather' again, and there will be large waves along the shore. The last snake will have long horns with cottonwood, willows, grass, and sage growing all over his head. Tell him you want him to take you across the water. Ask him to put his head close to the shore. You must jump onto the snake. You will find many deer tracks on his head. Be careful not to do anything foolish while you are on your way."

The boys did everything as instructed, and everything happened just as the Old Woman Who Never Dies said it would. They jumped on the snake's head, and he swam with them for a long time until he said he was tired. The boys broke up one of the corn balls and fed the snake. Refreshed, the snake swam on until he was tired again, when the boys again fed him a corn ball. Again they went forward. After feeding the snake the fourth corn ball, land came in sight. The snake came to the shore, and the boys asked him to put his head up on dry land, but the snake could not put his head out on the dry land. Black Medicine jumped, but the snake almost swallowed him. He was afraid that his brother would be swallowed, so he called back to him to be careful, but the other brother said he would jump from the snake's nose. Black Medicine warned him not to jump from the snake's nose, but the brother did, and the snake swallowed him.

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[3] This island was the winter meeting place of many creatures (see chap. vii, "Eagle-trapping Ceremony").

Black Medicine was left alone. He cried all day as he walked back and forth along the shore. Next morning as he walked along the shore, the big snake came up and opened his mouth. He saw his brother in the snake's mouth standing there and making motions to Black Medicine that it was nice in the snake's mouth and urging him to come in, but Black Medicine would not. He cried all that night, he missed his brother so. The next morning he again saw the snake and his brother, who invited him to come in, but again he refused. The third day the same thing happened. That night just when the wind was going down, while the water was calm, he saw a man standing beside the shore wearing a robe with the hair side out. He noted that there were pieces of white jackrabbit fur along the edges of the robe, and he wondered what the meaning of that could be. He heard a noise above him, and, looking up, he saw the man whose reflection he had seen in the water. This man had a flat stick two feet long in his arms. He asked the cause of all the crying each night, and Black Medicine told of the trouble with the serpent and how his brother had been swallowed and taken into the water. The stranger asked if he had seen his brother since, and Black Medicine told of seeing the snake come up to the surface of the water, and how he was able to see his brother in the snake's mouth motioning for him to come in.

The man in the air said, "Good! That snake comes close to shore because he likes corn balls."

"But I have no more corn balls," Black Medicine replied.

The man in the air brought forth a corn ball, made of only a little corn and mostly of ground sunflower seeds and rabbit manure which he gave to Black Medicine. He took the corn ball and cried all night. On the morning of the fourth day, the big snake came close to the shore and Black Medicine said, "Grandfather, I have a nice corn ball for you. Will you come close so I can put it in your mouth? Come closer." When he had the snake close to land, he gave the corn ball to the snake who ate it. Black Medicine said to the snake, "I want to see my brother once more to shake hands with him and then I will go home." The big snake came up and opened his mouth. There was the brother standing in the snake's mouth, but Black Medicine complained that he was too far away and asked the snake to come closer. The snake came closer but refused to put his head on the shore. Black Medicine walked toward the corner of the snake's mouth, but the brother refused to come toward him until he had begged four times.

The snake asked, "Do you see any black clouds?" Though there were a number in the sky, Black Medicine said that there were none. Suddenly Black Medicine seized his brother by the wrist and pulled him out. They hit the shore and bounced up at once, jumping farther up the bank. That moment a long flash of lightning shot out of a cloud above, and the snake sent out lightning at the same time. Thunder above had the stronger lightning and killed the big snake, which was thrown up onto the dry land.

The young men were knocked unconscious and lay on the ground as though

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dead. Thunderbird noted the condition they were in and brought them back to their senses. He took the two boys with him and went to his earth lodge. Thunderbird had a wife and two daughters. He said to his daughters, "Hurry! These young men killed a large snake. We must go there and butcher it."

The wife never moved but remained in her bed all day long. Thunderbird, his daughters, and the two young men went to the place where the snake lay dead. Thunderbird cut the snake up into small pieces and carried it home. Thunderbird and his family ate the snake, but the two boys would not touch the meat. Thunderbird noticed that these young men were active, with more powers than ordinary Indians. He said to them one evening, "You know that every man should have a wife. You should have a wife, and you will sometime. I am here alone; my wife is sick in bed all the time. I have two daughters, and they are good-looking girls. I want you boys to marry my daughters. The older boy should take the older girl and the younger boy should marry the younger girl."

Black Medicine was sensible, but the other was foolish. Black Medicine hung his head and studied for a long time, but the foolish one kept saying, "Why don't you tell him that we will take the wives."

At last Black Medicine said, "We will take the girls for our wives."

After that the young men were out hunting a great deal and brought in the meat from the animals they had killed. The father-in-law praised them for their skill. Thunderbird said, "You must not go to the other side of that hill, for there is long grass there and the ground is wet and boggy." They agreed not to go there.

One day while out hunting the foolish one said, "Let's see what it is like over back of that hill where our father-in-law says for us not to go." They went there and found a dangerous lake with a white beaver on the shore next to them in the grass. The beaver heard them coming. His tail was covered with flint tools arranged like the shingles on a roof. The beaver slapped his tail, and small pieces of flint stones struck them with such force that they were obliged to run for their lives. They studied from the top of the hill how they could get the beaver. Black Medicine went to the pocket gopher for help. The pocket gopher agreed to dig a hole under the ground until he came to the beaver's bed. When the hole was big enough for the men to get through, he came back and told them that the hole was ready.

Next morning the boys went to the hill overlooking the lake and saw the beaver in his usual bed beside the lake. They crawled along in the tunnel that the pocket gopher had made until under the beaver. They could see the beaver's heart moving, they were so near to him. Black Medicine shot his best arrow through the beaver's heart and killed him. The two brothers went home at once, and the father-in-law knew something had happened.

They said, "Yes, we went to that big spring and lake you spoke about. We saw a white beaver and killed him."

The father-in-law could hardly believe their words. Thunderbird went back with them and butchered the beaver and carried it home on his back. They ate the meat and shelled the arrowheads off the tail like a woman shells corn from the cob until there was a large pile of arrowheads. The arrowheads were just what the father-in-law wanted.

One day the father-in-law said, "There is an animal over in those red hills. It is a red jackrabbit. I would like to get his hide, but something keeps warning him every time I go after him."

The young men agreed to go after the rabbit, and the father-in-law told them where they would find the rabbit. One day they went out, but just as they were nearing the red hills the rabbit ran over the hill and was gone. They said they would get him the next time.

All this time their mother-in-law was in bed ill. The young men asked their wives what was the matter with their mother and were told of a long porcupine quill in her foot. Black Medicine[4] told his wife that he could doctor. The boys built a sweat lodge first. They found the quill in her foot, squeezed the pus out, pulled out the quill, and put her in the sweat. When they carried her out, Black Medicine took a piece of black medicine from his pocket, chewed it, and blew it over her foot. Then he put her to bed, and she had a good rest. Soon she was able to walk around again.

One day there was no breeze, and they decided that the right time had come to get the rabbit; for, without the wind to help him, he would not be able to smell the two brothers as they approached thehill. They reached Red Hill, and Black Medicine sent his brother to the other side of the hill. Black Medicine walked through the peaks, and the red rabbit saw him and ran over the hill. When he saw the other hunter, he turned about and was shot in the side and killed. They left the rabbit for the old man to get. When they reached home, the father-in-law knew that something had happened. They told him where he would find the rabbit. The old man skinned the rabbit and saved the fur; the meat he cooked and ate.

For a long time after this, the young men did not find hunting very good. One day when hunting was poor, they wondered how far they could shoot. Each shot two arrows, and they walked along, picking up the arrows. They found that one of the arrows had gone through a snake with a head on each end, killing it.

When they reached home, the old man said, "I smell something." The young men insisted that they had not killed anything, but he still insisted that he smelled something. They told how they had not killed anything except that, while practicing for distance, one arrow went through a small double-headed snake.

When they reached the spot where the snake had been killed, they found that the snake had grown large. The father-in-law cut the snake up and all carried the meat to the earth lodge. The father-in-law said, "It is good that you killed this snake, for my relatives will be here soon. I must get ready for them." He went outside and cut some chokecherry sticks the size of a pencil and about two feet long. Some of these he peeled the bark from and fastened to them the arrowheads he got from the beaver's tail. He fastened a piece of red rabbit skin to the side and sage to the other, until he had enough of these sticks to make a large bundle.[5]

Thunderbird sat on his lodge for a long time, and at last he said to his wife, "Cook the snake, for my relatives are coming." He asked the boys to hide themselves in the earth lodge. The first arrival walked right in; he was a man, but just before he entered he was a raven. He was pleased with the abundance of food, and the old man gave him one of the sticks he had prepared. The raven finished eating and said that he would go back to spread the news that the old man had much to eat. The old man went on top of the lodge but came right down again, for another person was coming. He came right in and was given food and one of the sticks, and he said, "I came ahead to find out how things are here. The main party will arive here tomorrow." This man was the chicken hawk.

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[4] In the myth of the origin of Eagle-trapping, Black Wolf also doctored the bear cub with black medicine.

[5] These were known as bird sticks and were a part of most Eagle-trapping bundles. When trapping, these sticks were arranged at the altar.

Thunderbird said, "You tell them to stop a little ways from my place before coming in. Tell them when they stop over by my house to divide up into their own groups."

The sisters told their husbands when they doctored their mother-in-law for a sore foot that she was one of a large party of birds going west in the spring. She could not go on because of her bad foot.

The next day birds began to come, and each arrival sought his own group near the lodge. The groups were: (1) hawks, ravens, and crows; (2) young calumet eagles; (3) old calumet eagles; and (4) bald eagles.

The old man went out with the snake meat, which he divided into four piles, and he divided the sticks into four piles also. The birds began to eat, and soon all the food was eaten. Each took a stick with the flint stone attached. When the feast was finished, the old man said, "I have done all these things you like, but I didn't get it all myself. I have two sons-in-law. They are Mandan. They did all this." Then he called the two young men out, and all were surprised to see them. Some were afraid and would have run away had the old man not spoken to them.

When they finished eating, the old man said, "You can go to your homes now [autumn], but, when spring comes, I would like to have you come to me. We will move somewhere else then."

The birds all went to their old nests and stayed away all winter until spring came. Then the old man said to his wife, "Spring is here, and our friends will be coming soon. We are expected to move up the rivers. What are we to do with our sons-in-law? They have no wings, and it would not be right to take our daughters without them. When the four groups are here, we will discuss the matter with them and see what they think about it."

Soon the four groups of birds came, and he said to them, "What are we going to do with my sons-in-law? They have no wings and they are humans. My daughters like them. What shall we do?"

The birds replied, "I think it is best that we hatch the young men into birds." They decided that the bald-headed eagles should lay them, for they were the oldest birds. The young men were brought out of the earth lodge and went up on top of it. The birds asked the boys to roll up into a ball, and the bald-headed eagle put her wings over them. When she flew away to the other birds, there were two eggs where she had been sitting.

On each of the two eggs there was a straight line and a zigzagged line representing the lightning, for sometimes the flashes are straight, other times zigzagged. The bird went back and set on the eggs. The eggs hatched on the second day, and she flew away. Soon she came back and set on them again, and, when she flew away, their wings were nearly grown. When she flew away the fourth time, the young birds had grown into full-sized, bald-headed eagles. All the birds watched them while they flew up into the air. Everything

•773 was ready for the birds to travel; their course was up the Missouri River. Two birds were selected to be the scouts and go ahead of the main body of travelers. 539 The scouts were the chicken hawk with the white feathers at the base of the tail feathers and the raven. All the other birds traveled along behind the scouts. They traveled along until the chicken hawk came back to report something strange in a ravine ahead.

The birds said, "We will have the two Mandan men investigate and get whatever it is." They called the two brothers and told them about it. Each of the big eagles had a sword[6] shaped like a knife; some were white; others were black. All of them were very beautiful.

The young men were given their pick, but before they made a selection the wives said, "If they tell you to take certain ones, be sure to take the old one; it is a little cracked, but it has much power and is very sacred. If you swing that, you will never miss."

The young men did as they were told and selected a very old sword. The wives said, "When they let you go to kill what is in the ravine, be sure to go high in the air and sing this song we always use when we kill something. Then come down, both of you at the same time and turn sidewise when you are nearly there, one going to the right and the other to the left. Do this three times. The last time swoop down together until you are close to the ground, and the one who has the sword hit at it easy and very slowly. Then go straight up into the air again, for you will kill what you want to kill."

The big party of birds did not tell the boys to sing the bird song, but the wives taught them the song. The two went high into the air but could see nothing and came back. The other birds said, "That was all our fault; we should have told you to look sidewise."

They went out again and soon saw a serpent. Just then, the other birds remembered that they had not taught the boys the song and were surprised to hear the "eagle-killing song."[7] The boys dived out of the sky three times and the fourth time made a motion with their sword. A flash of lightning shot forth. At the same time the snake sent up lightning. They killed the snake and returned to the other birds, who praised them for their skill in killing the snake. In a short time the birds had eaten up the snake and had begun to fly northwest along the Missouri River.

The chicken hawk and raven returned a second time and said that they were nearing a Mandan village where a man by the name of Chief Bird was giving a feast for all the big birds just as he always did at this time of the year. The boys heard the name of their father and knew that they were near home. They talked to their wives about it. They told their wives that this was their home and that Chief Bird was their father. They asked their wives to go to their home with them. The boys went to their father and told him of their adventures. The wives were invited to come and live in the village, but next morning they were afraid to go in since they looked so unlike the Mandan.

The sisters said, "We are afraid to go there; we would feel out of place. It is best that we give you something that represents us." They pulled out a wing feather the birds put their heads under when they go to sleep. The Mandan call this feather "sleep feather." Each pulled out the sleep feather from the underside of the left wing and gave it to her husband. After the feast was

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[6] The sword is a part of the sacred bundle for this ceremony.

[7] One of the sacred songs of the Big Bird ceremony.

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over, the boys decided to give a feast for the big birds every fall when the birds went south. They gathered robes all summer, for it took a large amount of goods, besides the meat, in order to put on the ceremony. Twelve stones were used in the sweat lodge representing the twelve tail feathers each of the big birds has. Seven robes were needed to cover the sweat lodge. All the people belonging to this group met together, and the two young men brought out the two "sleep feathers" representing the two wives. The rights in the ceremony were sold to their "Children of the Clan" and have continued down to this day.

could be sold four times. The usual transfer was to sisters mar- 778
ried to one man, in which instances the women acquired rights 421
in the sacred robe and other paraphernalia of that section, and
the husband took over the balance of the bundle. Such pur- 425
chases were made only after several years of married life, as it [777]
was considered a sign of bad luck for common bundle-owners to
quarrel. Crows Heart explained that having a common interest
in a bundle was a powerful factor in making marriages perma-
nent. Sale was not made until the parent-in-law taboo had been
removed.

The prominence of these bundles is demonstrated by their representation in the Okipa ceremony. During the early summer all men owning primary and secondary rights in a Small Hawk ceremony met in one of their earth lodges to select two young men to represent their bundles in that summer's Okipa ceremony. Either young men of this group or men who were eligible to inherit a bundle were selected to dance in the ceremony and to receive goods offered to Small Hawk bundle-owners.

Women owning rights in the bundle were entitled to dress in [292]
the sacred robe, place sage and magpie tail feathers in the hair,
and carry the ash digging stick at the close of the Okipa cere-
mony, when separate offerings were made to them by the Okipa
Maker and his fellow-fasters and on other occasions when a
feast was made to the bundle as a Buffalo-calling ceremony.

The rites are based on the exploits of Corn Silk, who visited 796
the small hawk at his lodge on the eastern horizon where he 773
lived with his mother. This small hawk, being a good hunter,
taught the Buffalo-calling rites. Because he could produce thun-
der, he also introduced a rain-calling rite. His son, Looks Down
To Hunt, inherited all his father's powers.

The holy robe and its rites have as their mythological origin 778
Looks Down To Hunt's experiences on the northern horizon
where he encountered his wife's mother who lived in a large 773
earth lodge. After avoiding many hazards which she had set up
to protect her people, the buffaloes, she was obliged to free these
animals. The Mandan had many sacred robes, but each had its
separate origin myth.

The myth throws light on the native theories of the universe. 773
In one place Looks Down To Hunt asked the spider for his body 772

● 773 in order that he could retreat to the lowest level in the universe.
772 It was believed that the earth comprised four horizontal levels
and that the surface of the earth was the top level. The sky was
likewise made up of four semicircular hemispheres shaped like
an earth-lodge roof and supported by four posts. This belief was
associated with rites performed by a female robe-owner when-
ever a new lodge was erected or an old one repaired.

796 There was no spring or autumn bird feast, as in the case of the
Big Bird bundles. When the bundle-owners were paid to per-
778 form the Buffalo-calling ceremony, the man officiated as the
singer, carried the rattles, and wore the hawk on his head; his wife was dressed in the robe, wore the sage and magpie tail feathers, used the ash stick to dig a small hole near the head of the lodge, and "called up the buffaloes," as had been done by Frog Earrings in the mythology. A young man, about to go to war, asked the help of a bundle-owner belonging to his father's clan and promised to make an offering to the bundle upon his return. For this, he received a feather to wear on his head when in battle.

778 The sacred robe was held in high regard as a means of ward-
ing off misfortune. Because of the wicked disposition and power
773 of Frog Earrings, whom the robe represented, it was believed
that men took to wearing women's clothing and followed female
[828] avocations. She was also believed to be the cause of insanity,
[826] feeble-mindedness, malformations, twisted jaws, and premature
[845] births.

SMALL HAWK MYTH RELATED BY BEAR ON THE FLAT[3]

773 It was the fall of the year. Corn Silk and her nine brothers were living to-
539 gether. Whenever any young man would ask her to marry him, she would refuse. One of the brothers always spoke for the young man, but there was one of them who never paid any attention to her or urged her to marry. A young man, an unusually fine hunter, asked her to marry, and the brother who had been silent was disappointed, for he thought she would surely marry this one. He said to her, "I have never spoken before, so I think you should heed my words. At other times, our other brothers acted as spokesmen. This man is such a good provider you should marry him. You will have a comfortable home and everything you need. I think you should listen to me."

Corn Silk did not obey the request, and the mother was angry and said, "One of your brothers never spoke, but this man was a good provider, and he had confidence you would obey him. It looks like you are going to have Sikaraxa [Split Wing Feathers] for a husband."

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[3] Another version of this myth is reported in Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 63–76.

Sikaraxa lived in the direction of the sunrise. Corn Silk invited in four old women of the village, and they asked the purpose of the invitation. She said, "My mother wants me to marry Sikaraxa, and I want to know where he lives."

The old women said, "We heard it is in a far-away country. It is almost impossible for any human being to go that far. The best way for you to get there is to make a ball."

Corn Silk made a ball as directed. She invited the four old women in again, and they said, "When you start out in the morning, go out onto the ridge and kick the ball. Then you will be at the next ridge [horizon]. If you can't get there today, you will be sure to get there tomorrow. Take as much food as you can carry."

They instructed her to kick the ball four times toward the horizon. She was to kick it three times, and, on the fourth kick, there would be a forest running crosswise to her course. There she would find some of her grandmothers.

She followed their instructions. At the end of the fourth kick she reached the timber and there found a lodge. Inside were the mice [grandmothers]. Corn Silk could hear them talk of the day's work digging roots. One of the mice came out for wood and saw Corn Silk. At first they were frightened, but, when they learned that it was Corn Silk, they invited her in and asked, "What has brought you here so far from home?"

Corn Silk said, "My brothers have sent me here because I refused to marry a great hunter. They sent me to Sikaraxa, and I am on the way to the place where this bird dwells."

She stayed with the long-nosed field mice the first night, traveled all the next day, and reached the home of the mice with white breasts and red backs the second night. The third night she spent with the black mice, and the fourth night with the moles. At each stop she explained her mission. The mice all followed her and met at the moles' lodge. From there, all were to go together to the cliff and lake where Sikaraxa lived.

The mice warned her, "You are in danger and must follow our instructions carefully. When you get there, you will find yourself on a buffalo skull. He will come and ask you to take a bath with him, and you must say, 'I don't think it is necessary for me to stand on this skull and meet my death. I have heard about you and don't intend to go through all these rites.' Then kick the buffalo skull out from under you and see what happens."

Corn Silk went to the village on the island and there found an enormous earth lodge. Sikaraxa lived in it. He said at once, "Let's take a bath."

The man's mother said, "You must not take her to the lake so soon. You always do that and put an end to them. I don't want to see Corn Silk's life ended so soon. We may like her when we know her better."

Sikaraxa would not listen to his mother. The two walked out together. Mole whispered to Corn Silk, "Today we are all going to die together. The only way we can save you is by putting strong wristlets, anklets, and a necklace on you. Make the strings strong. The strings to your moccasins must be strong with long extensions so that we can hold onto them. Have your belt extensions to the back."

When the people in the village saw Sikaraxa taking Corn Silk to the lake to bathe, they were sorry that so beautiful a young woman was to die so soon. All admired her because of her long hair. No other woman who had come to

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him had been nearly so beautiful. He commanded her to stand on the buffalo skull, and she refused saying, "It is not necessary for me to die on a buffalo skull."

She kicked it into the lake. A large fish[4] with long teeth leaped from the lake, took the buffalo skull, and ate it. Then Sikaraxa ordered Corn Silk to remove her clothing and lie on her back with her head toward the lake. She refused, saying, "I came here to marry you, and I refuse to go through these rites. I won't undress."

Sikaraxa said, "I will come toward you four times, and the ceremony will be over," so she lay down as ordered. The moles dug holes to her wrists, ankles, neck, and waist, holding onto the straps. They also dug a trench so her body was level with the ground. Sikaraxa went out of sight in the air and came down as the Thunderbird, making much noise, and bringing the wind with him. He thought she would surely be blown into the lake, but she was not, since the mice were holding her firmly. The second time, he came lower, and the wind was stronger, but he saw that she did not move. The third time he was down to the height of the trees, and the fourth time he came within a few feet of her. During one of the intervals between the winds, the mice said, "The fourth time he will be only a few feet above you. Seize the white thing he has around his neck," but he went by before she could get it. Then he circled a few feet above her, wondering what held her. One of the moles punched Corn Silk who had gone to sleep and woke her up. She reached up and grabbed the object he had round his neck. At the moment he lost the object, he changed from a bird to a human being and stood beside her.

They walked back to the village, but she kept the object which was his heart. He stayed close to his wife during the daytime, following her everywhere she went. The people laughed at him and said, "He has taken a strange turn of life."

His powers were almost all taken from him because of the loss of his heart. The mother-in-law was glad to have a young woman in the lodge who had returned unharmed, and all the village was happy. Sikaraxa had been a great traveler, being a bird, but, after this, he never went out. Instead he would be found tagging after his wife wherever she went.

They were together until she gave birth to a child, a small boy. They continued to live together until the boy was three or four years old and able to talk. He was inquisitive and was always asking questions. Corn Silk wore the heart sewed on the inside of her buckskin dress and kept a belt over it so that Sikaraxa did not know where it was. One day the boy asked her if this was her native village, and she said, "No, we came from the Missouri River. You have uncles [mother's brothers] and a grandmother there."

The boy said, "Let's go home."

She said to Sikaraxa, "Our son has learned that he has relatives at the Missouri River, and he wants to see them. We are planning to go back for that purpose." Sikaraxa was willing to go along as protection for them. The boy was very happy, but the mother said, "It will take a long time to get to your relatives this way." The father made a nest and placed the boy in it, asking his wife to sit on the boy. He performed rites that changed the boy into an egg which shortly afterward hatched into a bird.

Sikaraxa was to follow later. They were transformed into two white swans swimming near the edge of the lake. They stopped there a while to feed. When Sikaraxa thought it was time, he started after them to see how far they had gone. He was changed into Thunderbird. He could not find them, but he saw two swans feeding along the shore of a lake. The two were afraid, and the mother said, "If your father does not know we changed into swans, he may kill us. Shout to him, 'Here we are.' " The father sent them on their journey, all the time flying toward their village, but Sikaraxa was far above them in the skies.

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[4] The pike called by the Mandan "Wolf Fish."

When they reached the village, they changed back to their former selves again. They entered the home village again. Corn Silk, being a holy person, was recognized by all, who cried, "Corn Silk is back from her search for a husband." They were curious to see the man she brought back.

There had been a famine after she left, so Sikaraxa made medicine to bring back the buffalo herds. He also brought rain for the crops. Since Corn Silk's father was chief, their family had plenty to eat. Sikaraxa lived with them a long time. During the course of his visit, Sikaraxa and his wife took a bath in a pond near the village while the little boy played on the bank. While playing there, he saw the heart sewed into his mother's dress and, lifting it, called to the mother, "Mother, look what I found."

Both the man and his wife ran for it, but the man got there first. All the while, the mother was pleading for the boy not to let his father have it, but he gave it to his father. Immediately, the man transformed himself into a large bird and flew into the air. He soared over them. Corn Silk was on the point of scolding the boy when Sikaraxa said, "Don't scold him. It is all for the best. When he grows up, he will be successful; he will be a great hunter and bring the herds near the village."

Corn Silk scolded the man for making promises that could not be fulfilled. She added, "You better fly away. We don't need you any more. The boy has enough uncles [mother's brothers] to provide for him."

Now Corn Silk was a widow. The boy was unusually intelligent and came to be considered a great hunter. He resembled his father closely, and people all remarked of their close resemblance. Time passed fast, and soon the boy had grown to manhood. It was late summer, and the families were thinking of a suitable winter village site. Half of the people had left.

The boy said, "I hate to go to the winter camp where we have to shovel snow and haul in wood. We have enough corn here, and I can hunt a little."

His family decided not to go to the winter village. Half of the people stayed in the summer village with them. Soon he was renowned as a hunter, and his lodge became the central meeting place where most people got their meals. They were getting along better than they had expected. His father had given him the name "Looks Down To Hunt." He kept his mother well supplied with meat, and, during his leisure, he would sit on a pile of rocks on the hill back of the village. One day as he looked down from his rock pile, he noticed that his mother was dressed up in fine clothing and prettily painted. She was playing kickball. As he watched, he heard a sound resembling a song, but the words were not distinct.

He went back the next day, for he was curious to learn what the song was. It was more distinct, so he knew it was someone far away singing. When he saw his mother dressed up in her fine clothes again, he was so angry that he went to bed without eating. The third day, the singers were closer and the words were something about his name, but his name was all that he could dis-

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tinguish. When he saw his mother playing the third day, he was disgusted, and, when she spoke to him as a woman does to her husband, he was all the angrier. When he was on the hill the fourth day, the sound was just back of the hill from where he sat. There were two singers, and the words were:

> We have Looks Down To Hunt in our heart,
> But his mother is silly about her son.
> Our feet are blistered from walking so far.

The boy was facing the east, looking down onto the village. When he recognized the words, he was so angry he would not go down the hill. The two singers approached. The one from the north was of dark complexion and had long black hair; the singer from the south was of light complexion with yellow hair. The one from the north carried a yellow wooden bowl full of pemmican, and the one from the south carried a woven bowl full of four-in-one corn balls. Each carried a pair of moccasins. When they came to him, he was at a loss concerning the order in which to eat the food, for he thought, "If I take one's food first, the other will be jealous." So he took from each bowl at the same time and put both portions into his mouth at the same time.

Then the woman from the south said, "I have never been jealous, so eat from my friend's first, for my friend from the north often gets jealous." When it came to the moccasins, he thought of the same thing and took one from each pair, but his hands were awkward. The woman from the south said, "You should put on the pair the woman from the north brought. She gets jealous."

He took both women to his lodge. His mother was out again dressed up in her finest clothing playing the kickball game. When she returned, he said, "You foolish old woman! I have brought you two daughters-in-law."

When she heard that, she ran into her lodge, pulled off the elkskin dress and robe, rubbed charcoal over her paint, and came out looking like an old woman again. When it was time to go to bed, the three went together into the same bed, he in the middle with one of his arms under each wife's head. They slept that way all night.

Next day, the woman from the south said, "I am not jealous; tonight you should sleep with the woman from the north." The woman from the south was Corn Silk and the woman from the north was Buffalo Woman.

Buffalo Woman was first to give birth to a child, a little boy. Next night a child, also a boy, was born to Corn Silk. Nothing of importance happened until the boys were old enough to talk. One day they were playing together and enjoying themselves. The women were busy at their quill work. Buffalo Woman's boy cried and bothered his mother until she gave him a hoop laced with rawhide to play with. He enjoyed himself with it for some time. Corn Silk's boy wanted to play with it, but the other would not let him. He kept crying until finally Corn Silk brought him a small pumpkin the size of a ball and gave it to him to play with. The pumpkin made a rumbling sound as the boy rolled it on the ground. The buffalo boy threw his hoop away and cried for the pumpkin. Buffalo Woman said to Corn Silk, "Why can't you tell your boy to let mine play with the pumpkin? You have given many people chapped hands; you have caused many people to grow old from work; you have cut many people about the face with your dry husks. You always want to eat the best part of my body, especially the fat on my bowels."

Corn Silk replied, "You, too, always want to eat some part of my body. In the winter you go south where I came from to eat cornhusks; you eat the

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bodies of human beings." [She meant that when on the buffalo hunt there were instances of death of Indians from enemies or from injuries inflicted by the buffaloes.]

They scolded each other until Buffalo Woman said, "Get up, Calf!" They started for their home in the north.

When the husband came in, his wife said, "I told you the other wife was jealous. If you want to, you can follow them." He decided to follow and see how his son was getting along and then return to the village.

When he was ready to start, Corn Silk said, "When you get to the place where Buffalo Woman lives, you will get into trouble, but I will help you." He waited two or three days and then went to the place where he was accustomed to sit. He changed himself into a bird and flew in the direction his wife had taken. He changed into one of the small hawks known as the kite. When he got near the place where she lived, he came to large cactus plants as high as the cottonwood trees. Their needles were a foot long. Buffalo Woman and Calf did not stop but went straight into the cactus thicket. The father saw them from above and thought of striking her on the head with his lightning, but the calf was too near her. They were all day going through the cactus brush. That evening they came out and set up their skin tepee, which was almost white in color. The husband changed himself into a human being and went up to the door. His son came out and saw him. He was happy and ran inside to tell his mother. She only said, "Your father is not a very good man. Besides, he couldn't travel through that thick brush."

Calf asked if he could let his father in, but the Buffalo Woman said nothing. The boy ran to the door and said, "Mother wants you to come in." He went in. That night they slept in the tepee. Next morning he awoke to find himself sleeping in a buffalo wallow. His family and the tepee were gone. He could not find any tracks to tell him which way they had gone. He flew up, transformed into a bird, and shortly afterward he jumped a jackrabbit which he killed for his morning meal. He flew high into the air and found his wife and son approaching a large lake. First they would gallop, then they would run. When they reached the lake, the cow jumped into the water and the calf followed. They swam nearly all day and reached the other shore just as the sun was setting. Then they became human beings again and pitched their tepee. The husband came up, was invited in by the little boy, and slept in the tepee just as he had done the night before. Next morning he found the tepee gone as before. He changed into a bird, flew into the air, and again killed a jackrabbit for his morning meal. He found his wife and their son at the foot of a rocky ridge. He could see that she was working hard to get over the high rocks with the calf. It was sunset when they crossed the last ridge. They pitched their tent for the night. The husband stood at the door, but the wife did not think he would come that far, but the son found him and brought him in. The boy gave his share of the roasted buffalo ribs to his father. The boy slept with his father, but he was so noisy that his mother called him back to her bed.

Next morning the husband again found himself sleeping in a wallow with the tepee gone. He killed a jackrabbit for his morning meal and flew into the sky. He found them going through thorn-apple brush with the cow pushing her way ahead with difficulty. When the cow and calf came out of it, the sun was just setting. They pitched their tepee for the night.

She was roasting ribs for the meal when the husband came up. The boy asked his mother if he could give his father some. He took two of them to him to eat. (That is why a man today has ribs shaped like a buffalo's.) He slept with his father that night.

He said to his father, "Tomorrow is the day that we are to get home. I have much to tell you. My grandmother is mean. There are ten of us grandchildren. We all look alike and are boys. The first obstacle you will have to overcome is the door. It is one solid rock. If you are a little too fast or too slow, it will fall on you. You will have to find me. If you watch closely, you will see one run against the bed two or three times. That bed is my mother's. If you get in without being killed, grandmother will tell you to hang up your quiver against my mother's bed. If you watch closely, I will rub against it."

The husband changed into the down from his feather. The rock fell to crush him but instead it sucked him into the lodge. Once inside, he changed back to a human being again. He found the mother-in-law to be large, with earrings of live toads. He saw the boy bump into the bed three times, so he hung his quiver up over the bed the boy had bumped into. Then the calves were lined up, and he was asked to find his son, but he recognized him when Calf wiggled his left ear once. Then his son changed into a child again.

The fourth obstacle he was to encounter was that of the sweat lodge. The old woman said, "Calf, your father has traveled far and must be very tired. I am going into the sweat lodge with him."

She put the stakes of the lodge deep into the ground, and the covering was so thick that it was almost impossible to get out. She placed large boulders the size of an earth lodge but reduced, though holding the same amount of heat, in the pit. She hung three buffalo paunches full of water on the side of the door. As he went into the sweat lodge, he picked up a spider and said to him, "I will be burned to death if you do not help me."

He took the spider's body and went with it to the fourth layer under the ground. It was dark in the large earth lodge along the walls. Ten buffaloes were there in the lodge, unseen. They held the sides of the sweat lodge down so none could escape. When she put water on the stones, it was so hot that none could stand it, so she was surprised that her son-in-law should call for so much more water. The spider, speaking for the man said, "Bring more water for your mother-in-law." The toads she wore for earrings were nearly dead from the heat.

She came out of the lodge and the son-in-law came up from the fourth layer of the universe. He said, "That sweat was not warm enough to limber me up. Son,[5] can't your grandmother build another sweat tonight?"

She refused saying, "There is something I am afraid of which has come among us." He conquered death and then lived among them for some time.

One day the old woman came back from visiting a friend. She was crying, and they asked her what was the matter. She said, "They have been burning some dry cottonwood. I asked for some, but they said I had an Indian for a son-in-law. They said, 'Get him to bring some.' "

When she said that, her son-in-law agreed to get it. She said that in a certain ravine there was a dry cottonwood, the only tree of its kind there. All the time, the old woman knew that there was a family of bald eagles living there. He started for the tree; just before he reached it, the eagle saw him and began to send out lightning. He ordered them to stop sending the lightning, and the eagle said, "I thought you was an Indian." The eagle split the wood with his

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5. He speaks to his mother-in-law indirectly.

lightning and the man took it back to his mother-in-law. She took some of it to the people who had refused to give her any, so she said. 773 ●

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Some time later, she again came back crying and said her friend had some wolf pups a son-in-law had brought her. The pups were red from the chest up. She said that they had refused to give her any, since she had a son-in-law of her own. Again he volunteered to go out for her, this time for the wolf pups, if he only knew where they were to be found.

The mother-in-law said, "One will have to go north until he reaches some Red Buttes; one is higher than the other. The wolf pups are at the foot of the highest butte."

He started on the trip for the wolf pups. When he came to the place, the wolf and its mate came out to eat him, flames shooting out of their eyes. Before they could harm him, he told them who he was. He took two of the pups back alive, and the old woman was amazed that he was not eaten up. She said she was so proud she was going to give one of them to her friend, but actually she turned them loose, for these were some of the servants she had employed to devour her son-in-law.

Her friend, she said, had snow-white beaver cubs, and she wanted one of them, but the friend said she had an Indian for a son-in-law. He went after them for her. She said they were found in a certain lake. When he came near, the beavers switched their tails, and flints flew off chipping pieces of wood and even breaking stones. The man said, "Beavers! Stop that or I will kill you," and they stopped. He took two of the cubs back to the old woman.

Again she came back crying. This time she wanted juneberry sticks for arrows. Buffalo Woman scolded her for asking for so many things. Again she told how her friend's son-in-law had some he was cleaning the bark from with his teeth, but that they wouldn't give her any, telling her she had a son-in-law who was an Indian. Again he went out; this time it was for the sticks to make arrows from. While he was away, she said aloud, "I have put off long enough this matter of destroying him. I am not going to depend on my servants any longer. I am going to kill him myself now."

Before he left, he had inquired where they were, and she had said that they were on the other side of the hill just back of the camp. This was a high hill with a ravine beyond it. The sticks were at the bottom of the ravine. When he began to cut, he remembered that the best sticks were always at the bottoms of ravines. Actually the ravine was the old mother-in-law's rectum, and, when he began to cut, he found himself inside the old woman. She thought he would surely be killed by suffocation so she let up on her hold and then he was free to move about, but he could not get out. He looked through her stomach and saw a corn basket attached to a rope coming from above. He remembered then that his wife, Corn Silk, had said that when he was in trouble she would help him. The old woman thought she had disposed of him and had made a laughingstock of him as well. But he flew up as a swallow and gave the old woman the juneberry sticks, both the straight and crooked ones.

She had been using the other gods to kill her son-in-law. Again she thought she would try it herself. She said to Calf, "Your father has good vision. I am going to see which of us can recognize the island in the lake to the northeast.

He said, "My medicines, I am in trouble. I want you birds of the air to do the seeing for me," and the slender raven said, "I am the only bird with a long vision." (When a man is in trouble, he does not say "my friend" but "my medicines.")

Raven took his eyeballs out and put them into the man's eye sockets. When he was ready, the woman said, "Let's go up on the lodge and see if you can sight the island."[6] He looked in the direction of the island and proceeded to describe the curves of the shore line and everything else on the island. She said he had described everything correctly.

When making a bet like this, the loser can have a second chance. She said, "Now, give me a second chance by seeing which of us has the better voice." The man went to his medicines again, and Land Gull said, "I am the bird with the clearest voice; use me for your voice."

During the breeding season, the buffalo bulls can be heard for over twenty miles. The woman used the voice of the bull. The old woman and her son-in-law were to be the sole judges of the contest. They separated and were far apart. When the bull bellowed, no sound came to the man. When the bird sounded, its voice could be heard as though it had come from just back of her ears.

Then she thought she could defeat the man in the foot race and thus kill him. Though this old woman lived in an earth lodge, actually the whole world was inside it. The four uprights were the four posts of the universe[7] which held up the sky. The four uprights were to be blackened, and the first to make the rounds of them was to be the winner. He called on his medicines to help him. The lodge was considered to be the earth; the wall was the horizon; the posts were the four uprights which held up the sky. He asked the killdeer bird to make the land between the first two posts boggy, and he called on the small gray fox to run the first stretch for him. The old woman employed four buffaloes, one for each stretch. He called on the red fox to run the second stretch; that land was undermined by the moles, who left just enough soil to hold the fox up but the old woman's buffalo floundered about helplessly. He called on the coyote to make the third run, but nothing was done to the land. He made the last run himself.

The race began. When the buffalo got to the first post, he was far behind. Each time when the buffalo reached the post, he would find it blackened. The man finished the race, transformed into a bird. After he won the race, the man said to the mother-in-law, "I want that prize to take home."

She said, "That is right," and, going to the head of the lodge and taking her wooden digging stick with her, she pried a rock out of its place and spoke down into the hole saying, "All of you come out." The buffaloes came out, but they were hairless and covered with grease. They had no meat, only fat on them.

He thought, "If I take them, my son will not get out." He refused them.

A second herd was called out, but they had long legs, long horns, long manes, and turned-up noses; they ate human beings. He refused them, and they returned into the earth. The third herd called up had long horns, manes that reached the ground, and bushy tails like horses, but they were larger than the others. He refused that herd, so she sent them back. The fourth herd was like the buffaloes we know.

He thought, "Here is a chance to take my wife and child back," so he accepted them.

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[6] She uses direct address. In extreme circumstances the mother-in-law will address the son-in-law directly.

[7] So far as it was possible to determine, this was the only myth referring to the earth as a huge earth lodge. The mouth of Heart River was the fireplace.

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The old woman said, "This is the herd I tried to keep from you, but I am going to make a ruling that, when a white one appears, or a calf is born in the winter, it will be of great value."

That custom persisted until the buffalo were exterminated. He took the herd home, but let his wife and children [all the cow's sister's children were classified as children] go with the herd. He parted from them, for they were now considered food. This was also the beginning of the custom of a man parting with his wife and child and thinking little about it. This man taught the people that the world was an earth lodge supported by four posts. Thus, in building an earth lodge of the four-post standard, either an eagle lodge or earth lodge, calicoes were given to the posts in commemoration of this event.

When he reached home, the corn was short, for the season was dry; the buffalo herds were far away. He caused it to rain and brought the herds close to the village. All the people prospered and were happy, for the man by his adventures had brought good luck to all the people. By his suffering, he gained powers, and it was for the good of all his people.

778 425 614 sales were as follows: (1) arrowmaking rights (Items 1, 2, 3, 4, 10); (2) owl rights (Items 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10); and (3) Holy Woman rights (Items 10, 11, 12, 13). The buffalo-calling rights were reserved for the main bundle-owner. There is no evidence of a bundle coming from Mitutanka Village.

SNOW OWL CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY BEAR ON THE FLAT[5]

• 773 539 A long time ago the Mandan were divided up into groups trapping eagles along the creeks west of the Missouri River. They were living in the usual eagle-trapping lodges made on the four-post standard. Black Wolf was one of the party. Being a good hunter, Old Black Bear was glad to have him along. He would go out into the pit whenever the winds were from the west and he was catching many birds. One warm afternoon, when in his pit, he became sleepy and was dozing off when he heard a rumbling sound. He awoke instantly. This same sound occurred on three consecutive days, but each time he woke up. On the fourth day, he was asleep when it occurred.

When he finally woke up, his pit was so dark that he thought night had come. When he touched the roof of his pit, he found that a large rock covered it, holding him prisoner beneath. When he could not get out, he cried. He lost all track of time. At last he saw daylight and was glad to get out of the pit. He found himself in a strange country. He saw a high hill and went there to get his directions again. From there he saw timber farther on, and at the edge of it there was a very small man motioning with his robe for him to come over. He went to the stranger and found him to be a small man, almost a dwarf, with a fair complexion, yellow hair, and a slightly hooked nose. This little man spoke in Mandan, and Black Wolf was glad to hear a voice again. He was invited to a lodge which was a four-post eagle-trapping lodge. There he saw a middle-aged man sitting at the head of the lodge making arrows. The arrowmaker did not speak, but the little man asked him to sit down.

After a while the arrowmaker said to the little man, "My helper, you have brought in a stranger. Prepare food for him."

The little man brought in dried meat and fat which he cooked over the coals. When it was crisp, he placed it on a wooden platter and set it before Black Wolf. Being very hungry, he ate it all up. Then the little man brought him water in a buffalo horn.

When Black Wolf had eaten, the arrowmaker said to the little man again, "It is time for us to eat now." The meat Little Man brought in was from around the sinews of the back. This he pounded up with a stone hammer and made into pemmican. Then he brought out an earthen kettle full of water and set it onto the fire. When the water was hot, he brought out a white substance and put it into the kettle. Then he said, "The meal is ready."

The arrowmaker said, "Bring my paint," and the Little Man ran to obey him. The paint was yellow, and the arrowmaker daubed spots of it all over his body. He tied a scalp on his left wrist, then stood up and danced around the fire to the rhythm of his own breathing. Each time he came to the kettle, he

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[5] Another version of this myth is recorded in Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 149–54.

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sifted a little of the pemmican into it and then ate a little out of the kettle each time around until he had his fill. Little Man did just as the larger man had done.

At the evening meal, everything happened just as at the previous one.

At the morning meal, the food was prepared as formerly. Black Wolf ate first; the arrowmaker went through the dance as he ate, as before, but added the words, "If you don't bring in the elk, you are a coward."

It was customary for Black Wolf and Little Man to bring the firewood from the timber. While in the woods, Black Wolf asked Little Man what the arrowmaker meant by calling him a coward if he did not bring the elk. Little Man replied, "A large elk lives in a lake far to the north. It comes out of the lake in the middle of the day to take a nap. By my cunning, I always approach him and shave off a small piece of his horns to bring home to cook in the earthen pot we keep by the fire."

Black Wolf said, "I will bring in that elk."

Little Man said, "There are two cranes watching the elk. They cry out, and their voices echo over the whole country whenever anyone approaches."

Black Wolf left immediately in quest of the elk. Toward evening he came to a forest. He thought he would spend the night there and soon found a four-post lodge near the edge of the trees. He went to the lodge and stopped at the door. Inside he heard women talking of digging roots and wild potatoes in the forest. Some said their work was easy; others said it was difficult. They said they were hungry and that one should go outside for the firewood. The one who went out was short, with a long nose, but she was very good-looking. She saw Black Wolf outside and invited him in, but the other women, on seeing him, became so frightened that they ran to the head of the lodge and fell in a pile on the floor. The woman at the bottom of the pile said, "I am smothering. There is nothing to be afraid of. It is only Black Wolf. It is our grandchild who frightened us."

Black Wolf took out a piece of tallow for the grandmothers to grease their hands with and to eat. Some ate theirs; others greased their hands.

When the excitement died down, one of the women asked, "Grandchild, what made you come so far?"

Black Wolf replied, "That is right. I am far from home." Then he related the strange things he had experienced. He told how the rock fell over his pit, how the two men danced as they ate, and how they had called him a coward if he did not bring Elk-with-Antlers. The women listened carefully to all he related.

Then one of the grandmothers said, "Grandchild, this is a dangerous undertaking. If you keep traveling north, you will meet more of your grandmothers [long-nosed mice living in the timber]. When you go, we will follow after you, and you can tell the next grandmothers you meet we are coming to them."

He gave the women a small piece of fat before leaving in the morning. He traveled all day, and toward evening he came to a lodge in the forest. As he came nearer, he saw the smoke coming from the lodge and heard voices inside. Their conversation was also about digging roots and wild potatoes. One of their number was sent out for firewood, and she cried back saying, "An Indian has come to our lodge." All the mice ran to the side of the lodge opposite the door where they formed a huge pile.

One of the number said, "It has been a long time if it was an Indian. She must have been fooling us."

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A second mouse went out to see what was the matter. She called back, "It is Black Wolf. Our grandchild must be on an important errand to be so far from home," so they opened the door, and Black Wolf went in.

One of the women said, "How is it you are up north so far from home? We never expected to see you here." Black Wolf thought of the reception and of the fat in his pockets. One of the mice said, "My lips and hands are chapped." He gave each grandmother a piece of fat. Some used it on chapped hands; others ate theirs. Then he related all that had happened since the rock rolled over his pit, making him a prisoner. When he told them that the grandmothers one camp back were coming, they said that there were more mice farther north and that another day's travel would bring him to them. They asked him to spend the night there. These mice were red-backed with white breasts. Before he left, they said that they would follow him to where the elk lived.

Next morning he went on, and at evening he came to the timber again. There he found a lodge and stood beside the door. Inside he could hear the usual conversation about chapped hands. Soon one of the mice was sent out for firewood and saw Black Wolf. Again they were all frightened and rushed to the back of the lodge to form a pile. The one spoke saying, "It is time the Indian was coming in. She may be fooling us."

Saying this, she went out and saw Black Wolf standing at the door. They were no longer frightened when they saw that Black Wolf had come to their lodge. They told of their chapped lips and hands. He thought of his fat and gave them larger pieces than he had done at the other lodges. These mice were nearly black. They asked the same questions concerning his business in the far north, and he told the same story as before. They said, "One day's journey from here will take you to the other grandmothers. Tell them we are following you to their lodge. We have nothing to say about your errand. It is those at the first lodge whose word is authority."

Black Wolf spent the night there and started on his journey next day at sunrise. That evening at sunset he came to a timber that lay crosswise to the course of his journey and saw a lodge just inside the timber. He heard those inside telling of digging roots and wild potatoes. One of their number was sent out to gather firewood and saw Black Wolf. She called to the others, "There is an Indian at our door." All the mice ran to the back of the lodge. One said, "She must be fooling us. It is time he came in." She went out to find Black Wolf standing there. She invited him in. They questioned him about the reason for being so far from home, and he told them everything.

They said, "That big man who took you after you were held prisoner in the pit is one nobody can do anything with. He captured Little Man to be his slave. There is no way to capture the elk, but, when your other grandmothers arrive, we will talk the matter over and see what can be done. That elk sleeps at noon." These were the moles.

The other mice arrived that evening. First they told him that the elk was white. When the mice were ready, they told him to remain in the lodge. All of them went outside without telling him why. The mice of the first night began a tunnel underground and dug until they were tired; the mice of the second lodge dug on; the mice of the third lodge dug as far as they could; the mice of the fourth lodge finished the tunnel up to the sleeping elk. Then they called Black Wolf to follow the tunnel and kill the elk. Its heart beat was so strong that Black Wolf could hear it. He went up to the sleeping elk and shot four arrows tipped with flint into the heart, and the animal died. When the mice dug the tunnel, the cranes set to guarding the elk knew nothing of it so did not let out a cry until it was too late.

The grandmothers advised him to return at once with the elk. Being holy, he made the trip in one day. As soon as he reached the lodge of the two men, he informed the large man that he had killed the elk. He only replied, "Good! We will bring it in." Being birds, they made the trip there and brought in all the meat in one day.

When all the elk was taken into the lodge, the large bird danced around the food before eating. The small portion they used to put into the kettle was the fat from the horns. Now they had all the horns so they were well supplied. At first the large man was satisfied with the meat, but he got tired of it after three meals. They he danced and chanted "If you don't bring the four stripes, you are not a man." He referred to a man who had four stripes painted in his hair.

Little Man was one of the small gray-colored owls about the size of a blackbird found in the timber. Black Wolf continued to gather wood with Little Man. That day he asked what Big Man meant about the four stripes, and Little Man said, "He means that you should go after a man with hair striped white, red, blue, and bright red. This man lives near the ocean. There is no way of reaching him. That is the person Big Man was speaking of."

Black Wolf said, "I will go for him."

When Big Man heard of this, he was very happy, for he had no way of getting the man. Black Wolf changed into a bird and made the flight to the seashore. Then he changed back into a human being again. He walked along the edge of the forest where he saw many tracks of animals. Soon he saw an earth lodge with smoke coming from the smokehole and knew that it was occupied. Without awaiting an invitation, he walked in. There was only one occupant, a woman (the white-tail deer). She said, "What brings you so far from home?" She gave him corn-meal porridge, cooked dried meat, and water. Being hungry, he ate it all up and drank the soup. Again she asked him what brought him to the lodge. He told her of Big Man who took him in; how he sang a song telling of Black Wolf's cowardice if he did not bring in the white elk; and how Big Man now wanted him to bring in the man with the striped scalp.

When he finished, the woman said, "It is a good time to go now, for that man is in love with me."

She wore a dress of buckskin. This she took off and stood naked before him. Then she asked Black Wolf to do the same. Then she rubbed his body until he had her physique. When she came to the calves of his legs where one of the veins looks like lightning, she said, "If I change that vein, you will not run so fast. Now you look just like me except your lower legs. Now you must go to the shore and say, 'Grandfather, my grandmother has ordered you to cross me.' If a snake comes out, tell him he is not the right one, and he will disappear."

He did as she directed. When the first snake came out, there were only red willows on the bank, so he knew it was not the right one. He called again, and the growth on the shore was the small cottonwoods. He said, "Grandfather, you are not the right one."

The snake said, "I am sorry. I came for nothing."

The grandmother had said, "The third one to come out will lay its head on the shore. If the cottonwoods show smooth bark, tell him he is not the one you want, and he will disappear. The fourth time you call, the shore line will be changed to rocky sides and the cottonwoods will be large in circumference but not tall, with red willows growing at their feet." She gave Black Wolf eight large corn balls and said, "That snake will say, 'Grandchild, put one of those corn balls into my mouth,' but instead of doing it, put it into the water and let the snake get it himself. All these growths will be on the serpent's head."

When the last snake came to the shore, Black Wolf said, "Come a little closer," and it obeyed. Four times he asked the snake to come closer, and each time the large snake drew its head farther up on the bank. Then Black Wolf jumped and grabbed some red willows to hold onto. He missed the draft that nearly sucked him into the snake's mouth. The snake swam on, since he could not get Black Wolf at the shore. He hoped to swallow the man when he put corn balls into his mouth but, instead, Black Wolf threw them into the water for the snake to get as best he could. Corn balls were thrown into the water four times on the trip, and then they reached shore. There the snake placed his head even with the water, but Black Wolf did not dare to get off and asked him to move farther up the bank. This way, he moved the snake four times so that he was far up on the bank. Black Wolf jumped safely to shore.

At once he dressed in the woman's costume and started for the earth-lodge village. The grandmother had instructed him to look for a lodge facing south, which he had no difficulty in finding, once he reached the village. The young men of the village, playing the hoop-and-stick game, stopped to admire the pretty young woman passing by. One of them said, "She is the prettiest girl to come to this island. No doubt she is going to visit Four Stripes."

He went to the lodge and said, "Here is a woman who wants to come in."

When Four Stripes' mother heard, she went out to the girl and said, "Pretty woman, did you come to see my son?"

Black Wolf said, "Yes." The old woman showed her to a seat. Black Wolf was dressed in an elk robe, mountain-sheep dress, and leggings. He was very beautiful in women's clothing.

The grandmother, in giving instructions, had said, "Four Stripes' mother has the reputation of being a very mean woman."

Black Wolf was given food, and about that time Four Stripes returned. He was very handsome with light complexion and long hair. He was dressed in a beautiful costume. He had just returned from courting the chief's daughter. He carried a long lance in his hand. This he hung up at the head of his bed while he changed his robe. The mother said, "This young woman has come to you, and you better sit beside her and become her husband." He agreed, and they were married.

The mother-in-law sent Black Wolf for water. At the edge of the spring, he found a mountain-sheep horn that was always in motion. It had peppermint growing on its edges. He took the horn, filled it with water, and gave it to Four Stripes. The mother-in-law instructed Black Wolf to return the horn where he found it. He was given food, and, when the two had eaten, they heard a loud noise above. A woman came down through the smokehole. She was a bird with a long neck and on her back carried a sharpened ash pole with which she killed anything she attacked. She was a holy woman. She traveled like a bird and devoured humans as food. Her hair was dark with gray stripes. She was sister to Four Stripes. Also in the lodge was Four Stripes' mother's sister (called mother). When the holy woman[6] flew in from the skies, she was surprised to see the woman beside Four Stripes.

The mother said, "Don't you do anything to my daughter-in-law," for this woman was in the habit of eating anyone who came to marry Four Stripes.

Holy Woman said, "If she is a woman, let her stand up like a woman." She meant that she should strip naked. The holy woman asked her to let her arms hang. As it was dark in the lodge, she lit willows to examine Black Wolf. Then she commanded Black Wolf to turn his face from the fire, and then she admitted that there was a resemblance to a woman. She noticed the veins on Black Wolf's legs, and she flew up through the smokehole, saying, "The calves of her legs are not those of a woman."

It was not long until it was time to retire. Black Wolf wanted intercourse with Four Stripes and set the night back four times. Near the end of the fourth night, Four Stripes went to sleep. Black Wolf got up and shook Four Stripes, but he was sound asleep. Then he began to cut the head off with a flint knife. When he came to the fat around the spinal cord, he found that it was a chokecherry branch. He finished cutting the head off and put it inside his dress. He said to the mother-in-law, "I have my periods. I should go outside to sleep while I have them."

The mother-in-law said, "You should go on a scaffold."

"No, I will sleep on the earth-lodge entrance," Black Wolf replied.

The mother-in-law made a covering of robes for Black Wolf. As he walked, blood dripped from the head, and she thought it was from the sickness. He left one of his lice in the bed to impersonate him. He ran to the shore and found the monster still waiting for him.

He said, "Grandfather, I am back." He was nearly sucked into the snake's mouth as he jumped onto its head. He gave out the four corn balls on the way, but they had not reached the shore. The snake asked for flesh from the thigh of Black Wolf's leg. That gave him strength to reach the shore. Black Wolf landed safely and ran to meet the grandmother. She said, "Hurry, take off your clothing." By the same rubbing process, he was returned to his old self again. She forgot to rub under his arm, so that to this day, a man's skin there resembles a woman's.

When the excitement was over, the grandmother said, "Hurry, and try to reach the lodge at Fat Hill (north of Little Missouri River). Don't stop at the entrance but run inside as fast as you can."

He left the grandmother and ran toward the lodge as fast as he could. Just before reaching the lodge, the holy woman in the air said, "The head is drying up. There is no chance for you to get out alive." He ran into the lodge and threw himself out of reach of the large bird. The only person in the lodge was a small boy with a dirty nose; he was playing in the ashes. The holy woman landed a little behind Black Wolf but did not go into the lodge. The little boy was named Bad Bone, the Mandan term for the sternum bone.

The holy woman called into the lodge, "Send Black Wolf out. If any harm comes to him, I will make you suffer." Bad Bone went to the left side of the lodge and rubbed it with his hand, and the lodge immediately changed into a solid rock, holding the two inside. The holy woman flew up into the sky and came down with the pointed stick, attempting to chip the stone. Bad Bone caused a crack to appear in the stone, large enough for her to stick her pointed rod into, and then he caused the lodge to go back together, holding the stick and woman prisoner. When the bird was fast, he returned to his playing and did not say a word to Black Wolf. Bad Bone then caused it to rain, and the holy woman became wet and cold. She called to the boy, but he paid no attention to her. Then he caused it to snow, and there was a blizzard from the northwest. She called that she was freezing, and they could hear her shiver. At last she died. Black Wolf went outside, cut her head off, and told Bad Bone that he could eat the body.

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[6] Four Stripes' sister. One of holy women entitled to dress up and dance at the close of the Okipa ceremony and to receive gifts whenever a major bundle rite was being performed.

He left the lodge immediately, carrying the two heads. He reached Big Man's lodge without further difficulty and presented them to him. Big Man was glad to get the two heads, which he skinned and dried. Before this time, it had been customary for Black Wolf to eat first but Big Man said, "My helper, get something to eat. We will eat together." He tied Four Stripes' scalp on Big Man's wrist and gave the woman's scalp to Little Man to wear on his wrist. When Black Wolf first came, Big Man had a scalp on his left wrist; this he gave to Black Wolf to wear on his left wrist. The three danced around the food before eating.

For several days they danced in this manner before each meal. Each time they ate, part of the elk's horn fat went into the kettle with the pounded meat. Black Wolf and Little Man went for wood each day. One day Black Wolf told of his desire to go home.

When he made his wishes known, Little Man said, "When you get to the lodge, bow your head and make it known that you are homesick. He will ask me what is wrong and you address him Igii'tahE." IgiitahE was the owl that lived in the north. It always faced the wind, no matter how cold and stormy it might be. This owl was almost pure white in color.

When Big Man asked him what was the matter, Black Wolf told him he was lonesome. IgiitahE asked when he wanted to return, and Black Wolf said, "I have brought you all the things you desired, and now I think I have earned my freedom. I want to start for home today."

IgiitahE said, "That is true; you brought me everything I asked for. My last wish is that you stay with us tonight. Your home is not far, and you can reach it in one day."

That evening they ate together and then retired. Early next morning, IgiitahE woke up and asked Little Man to get a meal together, as it would be their last one with Black Wolf. Then IgiitahE asked Little Man to bring the medicine bundle, and the boy gave him the bundle. From the bundle Big Man took a rib with a hole through it. It was one such as is used for straightening arrow shafts and making the grooves. He said to Black Wolf, "See how I make them." He took out a wooden object with a hollow in it to polish the shaft. He put pulverized stone in the groove. The third object was a piece of rawhide tanned in such a way that pulverized stone stuck to it, serving like a sandpaper for smoothing arrows. The pulverized stone clung to the hide by a glue made of boiled sinew. The fourth object was a grapevine the length of the arm and the diameter of the thumb. He also gave Black Wolf a tanned fawnskin, both his spur claws, yellow clay for paint, black clay also for paint, and one of his largest feathers pulled from his wing.

Then he instructed Black Wolf that on the way home he would meet a very pretty woman who would say that she heard he was returning. "You should shun her and not even smile at her. She is pretty, but farther on there is a prettier one. The second one will try to attract you and even make advances toward you. Don't smile or talk to her, or she will use her powers over you and take you to her lodge. You will meet four pretty women.[7] You are privileged to talk to the fourth woman, if you are not strong-hearted, for man is not strong that way."

Black Wolf met the three women just as IgiitahE had said he would but passed them all up. Coming to the fourth woman, he saw that she was the most beautiful of them all. He thought of the privilege he had been given, so when she got in his path, he smiled and spoke to her. She invited him to her lodge, saying, "Come, my lodge is over there," and she prepared a meal. Then she asked him to marry her. Looking around, he saw that there were eight beds. He had been warned to be on the lookout all the time, for there were many dangers. He remembered that he had been warned that, in the course of intercourse, he would need the articles give him by IgiitahE. As they lay there, something tried to bite him. He used the rib employed in manufacturing arrows and the vaginal teeth chewed it to pieces. Next time the teeth tried to bite him, he used the two wooden tools for smoothening arrows; the third time he used the rawhide sandpaper which it took a long time to chew up; the fourth time he used the grapevine, which it chewed on for a long time. Then he had normal intercourse.

Shortly afterward, one of the men returned to the lodge. This lodge was the Dog Den Butte. The other six men came back soon afterward. Each time one of the men came in, he noticed an outsider in the lodge and would say, "Hurry and make us a meal of that animal you have just devoured."

The sister would say, "You can't eat this one; he is your brother-in-law." It had been customary, when killing a man, for the sister to bite off the penis, and then the brothers would eat the corpse. It was the custom of these brothers to lead the Mandan into the vicinity of Dog Den Butte, where, when a battle took place with the enemy, one of the warriors would be killed. These seven brothers would then take the corpse into Dog Den Butte and eat it. When the seven brothers could not induce their sister to give up Black Wolf, they said, "We are going to have a dance. Let Black Wolf dance with us."

She warned Black Wolf, "Do not dance with them, or they will eat you."

He only replied, "Since my brothers-in-law want me to join their dance, I will."

"But they will kill you," his wife replied. Black Wolf insisted that he could dance like them and thus be safe from harm. He put on a costume like Big Man had given him and braided his hair into a knot on the top of his head. He used the wing feather, yellow clay and black clay, tying the spurs of the white owl to each wrist; he slung the fawnskin over his shoulders. He made a pretty sight with his body painted yellow and spotted with the black clay. When the dance began, some of the dancers threw off their heads, others their stomachs, hearts, and even legs.

Black Wolf dressed in his bed. When ready for the dance, his wife said, "Your brother-in-law is coming out." They stood beside his bed ready to seize him when he appeared. Instead, he threw the fawnskin out, which, coming to life, frightened the brothers. Black Wolf impersonated the white owl and screeched. The seven brothers ran away, leaving portions of their bodies they had been holding in their hands.

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[7] In order these women were: White-Tail Deer. Black-Tail Deer, Elk, and Buffalo.

Black Wolf said, "I am very sorry they wanted me to take part in this, for they are all afraid of me."

The brothers begged the sister to get Black Wolf to give them back the pieces of their bodies deserted in the wild scramble for the door. One by one the dancers overcame their fright and ran into the lodge, seizing the lost parts. Black Wolf told them he had taken off his costume so they were safe in returning to the lodge. The brothers gathered around the fire, but they still feared Black Wolf. Each time he moved they would rush out of the lodge.

Black Wolf said, "I was on my way home when you brought me in. Now I must go home." At this time Black Wolf noticed an old bow with a knotted string, also a lance with a warped handle, and a quiver full of holes hanging over the door. He thought there must be some reason for the things hanging there. The brothers gave him his choice of the three, and he saw that his wife wanted to speak to him so he listened to her before making a choice. She whispered, "The important articles are at the farther end. If you take one of the two, you are making a good selection."

Black Wolf said to the brothers-in-law, "You have been good to me, but I am not worthy of taking your best, so I will take the bow and lance."

He left immediately, but the wife said, "Wait."

The brother-in-law said, "You did not take the best."

Another said, "You have given him his choice, and you should let it go at that."

Another said, "It is the custom for a married woman to go with her husband."

Another said, "No, she is the one who gets us food when we fail to bring in meat."

The brothers all agreed that she should say something to her husband before he left. She said, "You must go home and marry any kind of woman, even if she is not honorable. Then leave her for another. Do this four times, for I want to be jealous four times. When you go home, I will stay here and perform ceremonies. When you prepare for the ceremony, my brothers and I will be there. The chief will ask you to his lodge and offer you his daughter. Your answer will be 'I have important work to perform, and, when I get it done, I will take her.' "

When they were ready to let him go, she took four bundles apart and asked him to walk on them with his eyes shut and to open his eyes when he stepped on the last one. Then he would be home. He did as directed, and on the fourth step he reached home.

Word went around the village that Black Wolf was back. The chief heard of it and invited him to his lodge, saying, "During your absence, we have had hard times. I want you to marry my daughter so times will be better."

Black Wolf said, "I have come home to perform some very important business. I must complete that task. After that, I will consider marrying your daughter." That same night he married a girl from a poor family and word went around that he was foolish to marry the poor girl when the chief had offered him his daughter. Next morning the wife was found dead, and Black Wolf married a second wife the same day. She, too, died the next morning, and he married a third wife, who died on the morning following her marriage. He married four wives, and all of them died.

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Then he was free to marry the chief's daughter, for he knew that the woman in Dog Den Butte had had her jealousy satisfied. (To this day, it is believed that when a man loses many wives, it is due to the jealousy of the woman living in the Dog Den Butte.) He was married and lived in the chief's lodge. Black Wolf had promised that, when he returned to the village, he would perform the ceremony. The property necessary for the ceremony included over one hundred buffalo robes and one white buffalo robe. When he left the Dog Den Butte, he did not take the old bow and lance, for his wife in the Dog Den Butte had said, "When you give the ceremony, I will deliver the things to you."

When he made the sacrifice of robes to the people in the Dog Den Butte, they knew that the time had come. The chief's daughter removed her clothing and carried a plain black pipe. The people from the Dog Den Butte made four stops coming to the village so the girl was sent with the pipe, corn balls, and a robe to meet them at each stop. The robe was given them at the first stop, but they also received one at the door of the chief's lodge. When they made their last stop, they were at the door of the lodge, and all entered. Someone laid the robe on the floor, and the people from the Dog Den Butte laid Black Wolf's bow and lance on it. The sacred dances then commenced. The woman from Dog Den Butte was naked with a small robe over her shoulders, and a turtle shell over her pudendal region. The dance was very suggestive. They danced continually through the ceremony. Then the woman took up the bow and lance, which she gave to Black Wolf. The woman and each of her brothers took turns promising Black Wolf success in warfare and in taking scalps.

The brothers said, "You will be chief of this village and never have any bad luck."

The woman said, "In the future, when any Indian thinks of me, he must make offerings to me and give his wife to the one who is head of this medicine."

That was the way the custom of "giving the wives" began, and it has continued down to its present keeper, Little Owl. All the sacred objects are kept. The ones making the ceremony within memory of those living are Standing Bear, Belly Up, Foolish Bear, and Bear on the Flat. The last person to impersonate the woman of Dog Den Butte was Flat Bear's grandmother, Brave Woman. She is called Woman Living in Dog Den Butte. In the last dance a man by the name of Big Turtle was on one side of the door. He had marks painted in red clay showing the kinds of wounds an enemy might inflict on the Mandan. A young man wanting to be lucky would go to him and ask for the privilege of striking an enemy. Then, when he was successful, he paid the man for sending him good luck.

women want the man to pick it up. If he picks it up, but few do, he dresses 838
like a woman.

There are three women, one in each of the three places where Sun stops to 776
smoke. They are his sisters. Their names are Sunrise Woman, Above Woman,
and Sunset Woman. They are all evil women. Because Sun is my god, I have 553
the right to give children such names as Lone Woman from Sun's mother,
Buffalo Woman from the buffalo skull, Digs Turnips or Chokecherry Tree
from the Bear.

Although the woman represented in the Shell bundle is one of the Holy 778
Women, rights in the People Above ceremony did not carry rights in the Shell 776
bundle.

These Holy Women cause twisted faces and insanity, and people with [553]
rights in the bundle can cure them. I have the right also to doctor those
thrown from horses or hit with an ash stick. This right comes from the People [828]
Above bundle.

The myth Calf Woman had been taught when buying the bundle was as follows: 773 ●

PEOPLE ABOVE CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY CALF WOMAN

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Three people go together in this story; they are Sun, Moon, and Old Woman Above. A long time ago a young woman named Corn Silk wanted to marry Sun. She went to a very old woman, who was a Holy Woman, to get instructions as to where Sun lived and how she might reach him. This Holy Woman said, "Your grandmothers, the mice, are living on the prairies. You can stop at their earth lodges each night on the way."

She started on her journey and came to the home of the lodge mice about sundown. She walked up to the lodge and stood outside. One of the children who came outside saw her and ran inside to tell the mice about it. The old women told the little mouse to invite her in. She asked the woman who was doing the cooking to prepare Corn Silk some ground beans for her supper. The young woman had buffalo fat along; she gave some of it to the mice to use, for their hands were chapped from digging beans. She also had some blue stone beads along, and she gave some of them to the old women. She slept there and the next morning went on.

The lodge mice told her that there was another family of mice a little farther on. She reached them at sunset. They were the white-breasted mice. She had ground beans for supper and gave them blue stone beads as before. She also gave them fat for their chapped hands. One of the old women asked her where she was going, and she replied that she was on her way to marry Sun. They told her she would find another family of mice a little farther on.

She traveled all day and reached the lodge of the mosquito mice at sunset. One came out and saw her, and she was invited in as before. She had ground beans for supper and gave them blue stone beads and buffalo fat.

They inquired, "Where are you going, my beautiful grandchild?"

She answered, "I am on my way to marry Sun."

She slept until morning and ate her breakfast with the mice. She traveled all day and reached the home of the pocket gophers at sunset. They saw her,

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and she was invited in. Each of the pocket gophers had a little clay pot cooking in the fire.

The head woman said, "The first cooked beans must be given to our grandchild."

Corn Silk had some corn balls with her, and she gave each old woman one of them with the buffalo fat. They asked where she was going, and she told of her trip to marry Sun.

Next day she traveled on until she reached the lodge where Sun lived. She stood at the door. Sun's mother, Old Woman Above, came out and saw the beautiful girl. Sun and Moon each owned a side of the lodge. Old Woman Above called her in and sent her to Moon's side of the lodge instead of Sun's.

About this time a Cheyenne woman came up from below, and Old Woman Above took her to Sun's side. Sun was on the inside of the lodge and knew all that was going on outside of the lodge. He saw that his mother was cheating him. He told his mother about it, but she said that not many women came to be the wife of Moon. Old Woman Above brought in the Cheyenne woman and said to Sun, "Here is your wife."

Moon said, "Mother, cook something for your daughters-in-law."

Sun was a cannibal, so Old Woman Above cooked human hands, ears, and skin which the Cheyenne woman helped Sun eat.

They had been married some time when the women knew that they were to have children. Moon told his wife he had a nest in a tree and asked Corn Silk to give birth to her child there, for Sun was fierce and would otherwise eat the baby. She had only to make the motion of jumping up to the nest, and she was there. Moon's wife gave birth to a boy. She and her baby were safe in a tree.

Shortly afterward, Sun's wife gave birth to a boy also. Sun picked it up and licked it like a buffalo licks her calf. Both parents were proud of their baby boys. Moon would go out in the evening and come back in the morning just when Sun was leaving. Sun said that he did not want the children to be babies all the time, and Moon agreed with him. Moon was afraid of Sun, since Sun would play with the children while Moon was away during the night. Moon knew that Sun had done something to his son, so he looked in the baby's mouth, where he found pieces of skin from humans Sun had been feeding him.

Sun said the babies should sit up, and they sat up; that they should walk, and they walked; that they should run around, and they ran around. That way they were full grown in a short time, and Sun gave the boys names. Moon's child was named Prairie Dog Owl. Sun's child was named Game Piece Stone.

Sun said, "Our boys are grown up, so I am anxious to have some people to eat."

When Moon went out that night, Sun had the boys play the gambling game. Old Woman Above watched closely every moment of the time. Moon's boy won the game but Sun said to play it over again; again Moon's boy won, and a second time Sun said to play it over. They played the game over four times, and each time Moon's boy won, but each time Sun said, "My boy has won the game."

Old Woman Above said, "Moon's son won every time."

They quarreled, and Sun said, "You always help Moon."

Old Woman Above replied, "Moon's boy won every time, and you always want to take it away from him." 773

In every game there was something bet. Once Moon's boy bet a Mandan household and Sun's boy bet his Cheyenne mother's ten brothers. When Moon came back, Old Woman Above told of the affair. 539

Moon said to his wife, "I will lengthen the night four times. You put a flea on the bed and tell it to talk to Sun, who will think it is you. Try to get to the village you came from with the boy. There you will be safe. The flea will tell the story over and over taking your place for four entire nights."

Moon's wife started back toward her village, and, while she traveled on through a night four nights long, the flea began the story. He told how Corn Silk went to the holy old woman to learn how she could get to Sun; how she visited and spent the nights with the mice for one night on the way; how she inquired the way to Sun's lodge and eventually found it.

About that time Sun became nervous because morning did not come. Then Moon added another night, and the flea told of the second night Corn Silk had spent with the mice.

Sun wondered why morning did not come again and said, "Something must have happened; it ought to be morning."

Moon set the night back a third time, and the flea told of the third night Corn Silk spent with the mice. The fourth night Corn Silk spent with the pocket gophers, the flea explained to Sun. Then the flea told how Corn Silk came to the lodge and Old Woman Above put her on Moon's side even though she came to marry Sun. The flea told of her marriage with Moon and Sun's marriage with the Cheyenne woman. By that time it was daylight.

Moon, who was also a large bird, one of the Thunderbirds, came back but not to the lodge. Instead he sat on a high cliff. He painted and prepared for war and flew around looking for the Cheyenne woman's ten brothers who were on their way to attack the village where Corn Silk's people lived. He found them and killed them with one flash of lightning. Just as soon as the ten men were killed, the Holy Women (magpies) who were evil spirits came and ate the meat from the bodies. Sun's child was among the ten. Moon's child cut the head off of Sun's child, but he had to put fire on him to kill the body completely. Moon had said that it was the only way Sun's child could be completely killed. He saved the head from Sun's boy. When Corn Silk and her son reached Prairie Chicken River, Moon's son ordered the Prairie Chickens to come together so that they formed a bridge with their beaks for the two to cross over on. The birds did as he ordered, and, when the boy was in the middle of the river, he dropped the head into the water and said, "Grandfather [Snake], I am making an offering of Sun's boy's head to you."

The two reached their village, and the people were proud of them and sang songs of praise because the boy's father had killed their enemies, the Cheyennes. They put him above all the others in the tribe and eventually made him their war chief.

By that time, Sun awoke and knew something had happened. He went to the spot where the bodies lay. There he found his son's ashes and put them together. The little boy jumped up without a head and fell down again. Sun then went to the spot where the Cheyenne had been killed, but only one skinny skeleton remained uneaten by the evil spirits

Moon's wife had a lodge of her own where she lived with her son. He had

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539 a pile of stones on a high hill, and he went there to sit nearly every day. Since his father was a Thunderbird, he liked to sit on high places and sing his sacred songs.

778 Calf Woman's bundle contained these articles (see Fig. 40): (1) copper ring representing Old Woman Above; (2) copper ring representing Sun; (3) copper crescent representing Moon;[4] (4) one large gourd rattle; (5) six magpie tail feathers (the Holy Women were identified by these magpie feathers); (6) twelve owl tail feathers (the owl was associated with the moon and the night); (7) human scalp, said to be one that was taken from a Cheyenne Indian, killed by Moon when his son escaped; (8) left arm of a grizzly bear, used in the ceremony, since Corn Silk and her son did not have time to get a forearm of one of the Cheyenne; (9) grizzly bear's skull;[5] (10) tuft of long hair from a buffalo bull's lower jaw; (11) a strip of hide from a buffalo calf's head; (12) long hair from a buffalo's foreleg; (13) buffalo left horn; (14) a buffalo skull.[6] (The buffalo was represented in the

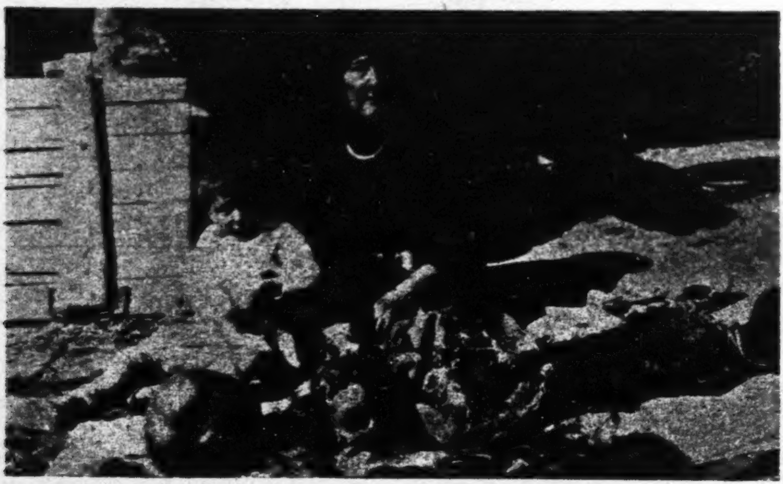

FIG. 40.—People Above bundle with owner, Calf Woman, and her grandson

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[4] The three copper objects were obtained from white traders.

776 [5] Scattercorn explained that the Holy Women were the only ones who could master a grizzly bear and compel it to work for them carrying wood from the forests. The significance of this skull was not clear to the informant. She thought that it had been added by a former owner and was not a true part of the bundle.

[6] The rites were of major bundle status.

Chapter XIII

THE SHELL ROBE BUNDLE

778 THIS bundle was spoken of as the Shell Robe of the Holy Women to distinguish it from other Holy Women bundles. Traditionally, the robe originated in Yellow Dog's village of Awatixa and reached the Mandan by intermarriage a long time ago, while the Mandan were still living in the Heart River region. The bundle consisted of a tanned piece of elkhide approximately two feet square to which were attached pieces of human scalps and clam shells set in rows. The hair had been removed from the hide, and a piece of scalp and a clam shell were fastened together in some manner not clear to informants, before being attached to the robe. A star representing the morning star was painted on the center of the robe. The bundle also contained magpie tail feathers, a braid of sweet grass, an ash digging stick, a buffalo-bull skull, and a plain wooden pipe. These, except the buffalo skull, were kept in a buffalo-hide sack. The bundle was one of a number having its mythological origin from the Holy Women, being so identified by the presence of magpie tail feathers, braids of sweet grass, and the ash digging stick.

778 This was the most widely known of the Holy Women myths. Those having other Holy Women bundle rights could sell the
•773 story independently of the Shell Robe bundle. Bear on the Flat,
726 whose mother had rights in the Woman in Dog Den bundle, claimed rights in this bundle by virtue of rights in a Holy Woman bundle. This was primarily a war bundle, and feasts given by men leading war parties were of frequent occurrence. The feasts entitled them to have an image erected before the giver's lodge and to have given them some article from the bundle by the Shell Robe owner. The article was carried on war expeditions and prayed to during the performance of the war rituals when away from the village. The number of feasts that could be given or the number of times articles associated with the bundle could be given out was unlimited. The blessings of the Holy Women

were sought, since these women went out at night, according to 778
the myths, to fight and to incite fights between the Mandan and 726
their own people or the enemy in order to have people to eat. 773
They were described as cannibals in all the myths.

The peculiar ceremonial pattern and traditional history of the 778
bundle, in a large measure, explained the general knowledge of
the myths belonging to the ritual. The bundle-owner and his 773
wives could sell the story. Owners of all bundles in which were 425
represented Holy Women, consisting of Buffalo Woman, Old
Woman Above (Sun's mother), Woman in Dog Den Buttes,
Old Woman Who Never Dies, and Striped Scalp (Sun's sister),
were included in this group. Traditionally, the myth survived
when the Hidatsa sold the bundle. Those who had bought the
right to hear the story could in turn retell when payment was
made. Those who had made offerings to the robe could learn the
story and retell it upon payment of goods. The bundle was normally
transferred from parents to sons and daughters if they
were living and wanted it; otherwise to a daughter and her husband,
inheritance being in the Prairie Chicken clan. Transfer
was made at a public feast, but the preliminary instructions
were direct between buyer and seller and in secret. The people
of the Prairie Chicken clan of Awatixa and the Mandan villages
claimed rights to the bundle.

When doing ethnological work with Mandan informants, it 776
was evident that there was no hesitation in giving information 124
on this ceremony, as was the case with the People Above ceremony.
There was no reference to punishing people with insanity,
paralysis, and other afflictions, as was the case with the People
Above mythology, in spite of the fact that the female characters
represented were believed to be members of the Holy Women
band. These women, although cannibals and evil in character,
were often represented in the mythology as kind, sending fog to
conceal their movements while they brought meat into the
Mandan villages and loaded down the corn scaffolds during
times of famine. People were not permitted to speak in a loud
voice in the lodge where the bundle was kept, and mice that ran
over it were said to have died.

During the last century the bundle and its owners have occupied 778
an important place in the traditional history of the Man-

778 where the Sioux were hiding. The Sioux rushed out, and a shot broke Bobtail Bull's leg above the ankle, and he said, "I am Bobtail Bull." He shot several with his arrows but in turn was hit in the chest with a bullet and died. The
173 Sioux who killed him named himself Bobtail Bull.

Because Bobtail Bull killed the enemy at the small Mandan village, these people were obliged to come to Like-a-Fishhook Village for protection.

•773 There is a slight variation in the myth between villages. This was determined by ascertaining the villages the various family lines had resided in. There were two distinct Mandan versions and one Hidatsa version. Several accounts were recorded of which three representative versions are given. They are: (1) Mitutanka version, supplied by Mrs. Owen Baker, granddaughter of Bobtail Bull; (2) Nuptadi version, narrated by Ben Benson; and (3) Hidatsa version, related by Bears Arm.[5]

MITUTANKA SHELL ROBE BUNDLE MYTH RELATED BY MRS. OWEN BAKER[6]

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539 She was a Mandan. The people went to a winter camp, coming from the Heart River. They were at the place where they dig paint near the Little Missouri. It was east of where the road crosses north of Killdeer. This place was called "Where they dig paint." They were traveling along slowly, for they had dogs. The girl and her brother got lost. Though the children were missing, the people could find no trace of them. The two children built a lodge shaped like the eagle-trapping lodge. When they had finished, they were hungry, so they looked around. They found rose berries and wild turnips. They dug a cellar and put them away for the winter.

In a short time, the sister found a friend who stayed at home all the time, but the sister rarely stayed at home. She brought in elk, deer, and many kinds of meat. One day the boy brought in an elkhide. The women tanned the hide and made a robe of it. When they finished, they pasted clam shells to it. They painted the morning star on the middle of the robe.

She said, "Leave a space where I can put something on the left side for Corn Tassel." (The Awatixa call her Red Feather.)

Her brother did not know what it all meant, so he worried about it. After he had eaten, he would lie down to worry.

The two women tanned hides for their robes and dresses. The sister did not like the place and thought it was not a good place to live, so she left the place and went to Big Timber. There she built a large lodge and had all the mysterious holy women help her. They lived there a few years. When she was away, the brother would hear a strange noise while hunting and wondered what it was, but he was never able to get the answer. One day when she was gone, his other sister told him that his sister (Feather on Head) was after him.

She said, "Did you hear a noise? That is your sister. She flies into the skies and fights there. She is trying to take your life. I will try to help you out so you will be safe. When you go hunting, if you kill an elk or buffalo, cut the meat and hide up into small pieces and throw it around where you butchered."

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[5] This version was from Awatixa Village of the Hidatsa tribe.

[6] For the Nuptadi and Awatixa versions see Appendix II.

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He came home, and it was then that he told the other sister that he had cut the elk up and thrown it around.

She said, "When your sister gets back, tell her that you killed an elk and that, when you got it, you were tired. Tell her to get it in the morning. Be sure to hide your tracks. Cover them and walk in the water. When you have escaped, go toward the Fire Man, for she is afraid of that man."

She came home, and he told her that he had killed the elk and that she should get it for him. As soon as they had eaten in the morning, she started out. She saw where he had butchered. There were many small pieces, and she wondered what it was all about. It was hard to gather them, but she collected them in her robe and ran home with them.

He traveled along, hiding his tracks. He came into the lodge backward and put his arrow into the ashes to jump. The arrow carried him along. He ran fast. The meadowlark told him to try to reach the butte, "for the only person that your sister is afraid of is Fire Man."

She came back and found wood piled before the door, so she called for him to open the door.

He had left an arrow to talk to her, and Arrow said, "I am busy; open it yourself."

She broke open the door and found no one at home. She looked for the tracks and followed them but could not find how he went out. At last she saw where he had gone up through the smokehole. She got her digging stick, put her magpie feathers on her head, and flew out. The meadowlark told him to hurry, for she was near. He threw arrows out, and the best ones went farthest. He gathered those and put them in his mouth, where he would have them ready to use.

She said, "There is no place that you can go to and be safe."

The boy turned back with an arrow pointed and shot. The sister used a bunch of black sage, but both missed each other. He shot three times but missed; then he was close to the lodge where Fire Man lived.

He fell through the lodge and said, "Grandfather, I am done."

A very old man lived in there. A hot kettle was on the fire, and the boy was puffing.

The sister looked in and said, "Give him back to me."

The old man said, "Get him yourself."

"Give him back to me, or I will include you," she said.

"Are you crazy? That is your own brother," he replied. He picked up the kettle and chased her away.

The grandfather said, "Your sister has turned into a spirit now. She will never die. No one can do anything to her. She is the head of all the Holy Women, but she is afraid of me, for she is afraid of this fire. You go home this evening, and I will warn her. I will fix you so you can go home."

He put cottonwood limbs in the fire, for they bend as they burn. He put the bracelets of curved, charred cottonwood on the boy's wrists.

"You will hear her crying as you come near the lodge. She will be waiting to kill you. You put your arm through the door, and she will see the fire and be afraid. Then she will sit down and cry," the grandfather explained.

He did just as the old man told him. She gave him his supper, and he ate.

He stayed a few days and his sister said, "You can go home to our people now. They are not far from us. When you get home, they will give you the chief's two daughters. Then you can make your medicine and keep me, for I will never go back again, and I will never die."

When he was ready to go, she said, "Wait a while," and she went out and
●773 brought in a large buffalo. She said, "I want you to fix up my brother as he should be dressed."

539 She showed him where the village was, so he went back. He went back to the Mandan and not to the Hidatsa.

When he got back, the people were told of his experiences. A chief gave him his two daughters. He told his wives about his experiences and how he had been sent back to perform the ceremony. His father-in-law was happy and prepared everything for him, since it took a great deal of goods. He took one of his wives and went back to his sister. When he reached the door, he was crying.

She said, "My son [not a brother now], come in."

His wife had corn balls of four-in-one and she took them to the holy woman. The other wife stayed home and cooked sweet corn, corn balls, and meatballs to have everything ready. He took the pipe and corn balls and put them in front of him. She went out and called the buffalo in again.

She said, "Bless the corn ball. You smoke first, for you are the one to supply meat for my 'son.'"

Buffalo smoked first and then broke the corn balls. She went out and invited in all her friends who were the Holy Women, the magpies and the buffalo cows. When they had finished eating, they said, "You can go home now, and we will be there in four days."

When he had been home four days, the morning was foggy and still. When the fog lifted, the people could see them coming. Buffalo was first; then the sister came, carrying a live Assiniboine Indian on her back. She wanted her "son" to strike a live enemy there in the lodge during the medicine feast. They went into the lodge which belonged to his father-in-law.

She said, "I have brought you an enemy. I want you to strike him so that you will be successful against the enemy." His sister passed the medicine to his wife to press against her breast. Then she gave the robe to him.

She said, "This is my body. It will protect you through life until you are old. When you are old, you must pass it on to another to protect him." She gave the scalp from the Assiniboine to her "son" to put on the robe. When the ceremony was over, she went back, and he never saw her after that. These had been Hidatsa, but he went back to the Mandan at Heart River, so the medicine got to the Mandan.

He killed many Assiniboines. Because he killed more enemies then the other men, he was made chief. He died of old age. The sister is called Feather on Head Woman, the same name as my mother had. The boy's name was In the Corn Tassel.

If mice ran in front of the robe, they died. People could not talk out loud in front of it. It belonged to Big Coat; then it went to Bobtail Bull; Big Foot Bull got it through his wives.

Big Coat was on the warpath during the June raise. He had thirty Mandan who were all afoot. They came to a large Sioux camp and did not know which way to run except toward the river. It was high, and he did not know which way to go. He was responsible for his men, so he called to cross the river.

He said, "My old mother, I saw you tall as a cottonwood tree. Now I want to wade this river."

He pointed his pipe at the river. They waded in, and the river did not seem high. He crossed safely, and in that way he saved his men.

Chapter XIV

RED STICK CEREMONY

THE Red Stick ceremony was a winter buffalo-calling rite 796
of four nights' duration and was held during the coldest part of the winter to bring the winter herds near the village. The ceremony was given by some young man who in his dream witnessed the ceremony given, heard the buffaloes singing the sacred song, or saw the ceremonial objects arranged in their proper place in his lodge.

Standing Bear, last bundle-owner before the disappearance 796
of the buffaloes, purchased the bundle from his father and 778
mother but, having no children, sold the bundle to Iron Eyes, who was not a relative.[1] The bundle consisted of a buffalo robe representing First Pretty Woman[2] and twelve flat boards painted red, with vestigial buffalo hoofs attached. One end was tapered to provide a handhold. There were a large wooden pipe, an owl, two hide rattles, a painted robe, and sage in the bundle.

There was only one song belonging to the ceremony, and it 796
referred to the information given by the twelve winter buffalo bulls who appeared during a blizzard and sang:

the one first woman pretty
has eaten most of you

The ceremony was based on a dramatization of the exploits 796
of Corn Silk, who brought back a little girl to the Mandan 773
Village. Each night the occupants of one earth lodge would disappear until the village became alarmed. The old men met to seek a solution to the mysterious disappearance of their people. One young man volunteered to fast in an effort to get advice from the spirits as to the cause of the misfortune to these households. A blizzard came in from the north, and twelve buffalo bulls, each carrying a red stick to which buffalo vestigial hoofs,

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[1] It was not possible to determine the rule of inheritance, since Standing Bear and his wives were of the same clan.

[2] Refer to the Okipa ceremony (chap. iv) for her part in those rites.

796 lungs, heart, and windpipe were tied, drifted along with the wind until they reached the foot of the hill where the young man
773 was fasting. They sang a song which mentioned the name of the young girl who was the cause of the disappearance of these families. She was destroyed by burning, which freed the people she had consumed. A sacred bundle was established by the young man. A buffalo robe represented the young girl, and twelve red sticks were carved to represent the twelve buffalo bulls.

778 Bundle transfer was traditionally from father to son,[3] but the information on actual transfers is so limited that it was not pos-
425 sible to check this belief with actual transfers. The ceremony was not given after the buffalo herds disappeared.

The pledge to give the ceremony could be made either by an
796 individual or by an age-grade society. In the case of the former,
778 clan brothers of about the same age assisted by bringing their wives with food and goods. The owner of the sacred bundle
561 would select twelve older men who had given the ceremony or who had sacred buffalo skulls, acquired through vision or purchase with bundles, to carry the red sticks. When an age-grade society gave the ceremony, the bundle-owner distributed the red sticks among the members of the next highest age-grade society who impersonated the buffalo bulls.

796 The ceremony was held in the giver's lodge. He paid those who carried the red sticks and the bundle-owner who set up the robe
778 of First Pretty Woman on an ash stake to represent a young girl. These carriers of the red sticks met at the bundle-owner's lodge in the evening to receive their ceremonial paraphernalia, after which by four stages they approached the lodge where the ceremony was being held. At each stop the giver's wife would put down a robe and a corn ball.

Upon entering the lodge where the ceremonies were to be held, the carriers placed the red sticks in a row extending from the fireplace to the head of the lodge, and the image of First Pretty Woman was placed to the right of them.

During the afternoon the Black Mouths sent their criers through the village announcing the buffalo dances were to be

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177 [3] We cannot be certain that this is true. Owing to influences of the Hidatsa pattern, Mandan bundles were in the process of shifting from clan to father-son inheritance during the eighteenth century. In numerous instances where informants stated inheritance was from father to son, genealogies showed inheritance to be within the clan.

tribes who had recently married into the tribe, believing that 796
the spirits of the red sticks would then help the other tribe. 837
However, when such women had joined a Mandan clan, they 614
could participate.

Sometimes, when a man refused to walk with his "granddaughter," her husband placed a filled pipe before him. This left the old man one of two choices: (1) he could walk with her, or (2) he could invoke the spirits of the north that sent storms driving the buffaloes to the Missouri River to help her and her husband. A woman was not offered to a man of her own clan or to immediate blood relatives.

Mrs. Good Bear recognized this as a separate ceremony at the 796
lower village, Mitutanka, and did not believe that it was performed at Nuptadi in this form, as they had the Buffalo-calling rites of the Snow Owl ceremony, which was similar in some respects to the Red Stick ceremony. Scattercorn verified this information by stating that Standing Bear, who owned the Red Stick ceremony, came up early to Like-a-Fishhook Village (about 1845) together with the survivors of the lower village and that, after the Nuptadi survivors joined the other Mandans, both ceremonies were given but never at the same time.

The sacred myth belonging to the ceremony was related by Mrs. Good Bear.

RED STICK CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY MRS. GOOD BEAR

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A long time ago there was a respectable young woman named Corn Silk who had then been single for several years. Many men wanted to marry her, but she always refused. One day her parents said, "Why don't you get married?" They scolded her, and she felt bad because they had quarreled. When night came, she went outside and lay on top of the doorway to the earth lodge to sleep and would not go into the lodge that night. She went to sleep.

When she awoke, someone was carrying her on his shoulders, and she knew that someone had her in his power. She couldn't get away. They went along until they came to his lodge. He put her in a bed, thinking that she was asleep, but she knew everything that happened. Then there was another woman, an owl, and a large grizzly bear in the lodge. The man asked Owl Woman to cook something for Corn Silk, and she began to prepare food. Then she said, "Corn Silk, you should get up and eat." Owl Woman brought water for her to wash with, and then she ate.

The man came in again and said to Owl Woman, "Send her into the woods to get fuel. Tell her to take the bear with her."

He walked out and then Owl Woman said, "You are a good and beautiful

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young woman, I am going to tell you what will happen to you. That man plans to eat you. That is why he brought you here. You must try hard to save your life. He will kill you when you get back from the woods, so be on your guard."

Corn Silk took the bear and the travois to bring the wood in with. The bear lay down while she gathered dry sticks, figuring all the time how she could get away. Owl Woman had said, "If you get to that sharp hill before he gets you, you will be safe." She picked up one of her lice while she was in the woods and thought that she would get away while the louse answered anyone who came along. She ran as fast as she could.

At that time the man came along and inquired where the girl was, and the louse replied, "In the woods." He waited. Corn Silk was nearly to the hill. The man went in to see where she was. He asked the bear where she had gone, and he replied that she asked him to lie down, so he did not know. He asked where she was, and the louse replied, "Here I am."

The man said, "I know where she is," and he ran toward the sharp hill to get her.

He came close and kept saying, "I will get you!" She had some waterbird feathers stripped down to work, like in quill work. She threw one of the feather sticks back, and thousands of these white birds [a bird on the lakes of the north, the land gull] flew up and beat him in the face, slowing him up.

When he got out of the flock, she threw back an elk-horn scraper which was used to flatten quills, asking help of the elk bulls, who appeared and hooked him. This slowed him up, but he passed them. He said, "I'll get you this time."

She had a pumice stone to smoothen the feathers with, and she threw that back. Sharp hills of pumice stone came up, and they caused him to fall often. About this time she reached the hill and found the door open. She ran in. A little boy named Breast was inside playing with a bow and arrow, but he did not pay any attention to the young woman who had come in. Soon Spirit Man was outside, and he called, "Send her out, or I will get you, too." The boy was shooting into the fireplace. Each time the man said, "I'll get you, too," the boy repeated it.

The man said, "This will be the last time that I will warn you."

The boy took up a pipe called "Tail Pipe" [a buffalo tail hide stuffed with sand until dry, when a hole was made in the end, leaving the tip hair on]. The boy picked up the pipe and filled it with tobacco, lighting it. The man was standing a short distance away. Breast took a deep suck on the pipe and blew the smoke toward the man, who fell down and died. He called to his sister to come outside and burn the body. They covered it with buffalo chips and burned the body until it was reduced to ashes.

When evening came, the little boy said, "Sister, I have quite a few brothers; some are foolish, and they are out hunting now, so you must go behind their beds and hide before they get here." She hid and they came in; they were all young men; they cooked a meal and talked of the hunt for a long while.

The little boy sat there and suddenly said, "I found something," but they paid no attention to him. He repeated it, but they paid no attention to him.

At last one said, "Our little brother said that he found something."

The others said, "Show us what you found."

After a long time he said, "I found a sister." They all agreed that they would have her for a sister, so the little boy said, "Sister, come out." She came out from hiding as a beautiful young woman.

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All the young men called her sister, and one of them said, "It is a good thing that you reached here because that man kills people and eats them. It is a lucky thing that Breast was here. It won't do to keep you here all the time, so in a few days we will take you home again. You can stay two days and rest and then go home again."

The next day they told her that they were going hunting and that she was to stay with Breast through the day. They said to Breast, "Stay with our sister, and you must not go out anywhere at all." They said to the young woman, "Sister, we are saying this because there are many evil spirits who would take you away."

While they were gone, an old woman came along packing an old man like they carried babies. His face was ugly; his nose was dirty; he cried like a baby. All this was to try to get Corn Silk to look at him. She hung her head and would not look at him. The old woman was angry because Corn Silk would not look, but they went out.

Toward evening the brothers came home and inquired whether anyone had been there, and Corn Silk told of the old man and woman whom she would not look at. The brothers said, "We thought so; everyone will be after you. It is best for you to go home. We will let you take something along with you so that you will be safe. Then nobody will bother you." One of them pulled out a beautiful otter skin with the skull still in it. She wrapped it up to carry on her back. At the same time she pounded dry meat for her trip home. Her brothers said, "If anyone stops you or tries to give you anything to eat, you must refuse it. Do not eat with them."

She walked along until evening came, when she met a beautiful young girl who said, "My friend, I have a lodge. You should come and stay with me overnight." They went into a ravine. The woman had a wood-and-brush tepee. They went in, and she said, "My friend, I will give you something to eat." So she dished out a portion of a man's brain with a mountain-sheep spoon. Corn Silk took out the brain and gave it to the otter skull, which ate it all up. She slept there. While she slept, the other woman went away, for in the morning she was alone. She set the tepee afire and traveled along.

She walked all day until afternoon, when a small child came to her crying for its mother. She looked at it and knew that it was not a real human and passed it up. Soon she saw another and passed it up; still another cried, and she thought of taking it because it looked so pretty. She went on. It cried louder and louder. Toward evening she met another woman, who addressed her as "my friend" and asked her to her house in a ravine. It was another brush tepee. She said that she was cooking dried squash, but they were people's ears. Corn Silk said, "I have something here for you to eat," and she gave the dried meat to the woman. Corn Silk gave the ears to the otter skull. The skull ate all the ears. The other woman said she was glad Corn Silk ate all the squash. When Corn Silk awoke, she was alone. She set the tepee afire as before.

She traveled until nearly evening, when she met another baby; she passed a second one also. The third one was a very beautiful girl who was just learning to walk. The baby touched Corn Silk's dress, and she looked at it. She took it even though she had been told not to take anything. She packed the baby on her back. She came home with the baby girl the same evening. Everyone

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called that Corn Silk was back, and all admired the very pretty baby she had with her. Everyone heard about the baby and came to admire it. This went on for three days. One morning when the village awoke, an entire family[8] was gone. The people wondered about it. The next morning another family had disappeared, and still a third family on the third morning. Some of the older people met and debated the cause of this and what could be done. It was something very mysterious, and they told the young men to stay up all night and keep watch. One young man said, "I will fast on the hills and see if I can find out what it is all about."

He cried all day, and a snowstorm and blizzard came up toward evening. In the night during the storm twelve buffalo bulls came along under the hill walking in the snow. They were walking toward the village. Each had a flat board about two feet long with hoofs, lungs, and a heart tied to the handle. They stopped at the foot of the hill near the young man, circled around, and sang their song.

First Pretty Woman was the name of the child which had been brought into the village, and the bulls gave the name. They said, "First Pretty Woman nearly ate up your village," and then they bellowed, pushing each other with their bodies. They were carrying the red sticks all this time. When they finished singing the song, the bulls went away and the young man returned to his village.

He said to the older men, "You wanted some young man to learn what has become of the people. I fasted on the hill to find out. While I was there, a storm came. I stood up against the wind and cried, and at the foot of the hill there appeared twelve buffalo bulls. They stood in a circle and sang a beautiful song. Each carried boards painted red. On the handles of each were hung heads, lungs, heart, and windpipe. They sang a song, and these words were in the song: 'First Pretty Woman ate up most of your people.'

"You must learn whether there is any child in the village named First Pretty Woman."

An old man said, "Corn Silk brought in a baby named First Pretty Woman, and that must be the one."

The older men called the Black Mouth Society, ordering them to go from lodge to lodge and find out who she was. They inquired the names of all the children in each family until they came to Corn Silk. They asked her if that was her own baby, and she said that it was. Then they asked the name and she replied, "First Pretty Woman."

Then the Black Mouths said, "That is the child we are looking for. We lost our families and something got them. We heard one of the young men say that First Pretty Woman was the name of the child who ate them. That must be the one, and we are going to take the baby from you."

Corn Silk replied, "She isn't mine because I picked her up on the prairie one morning at daybreak.[9] Once the child flew down through the smokehole and came to me. I tickled her, and she laughed. I saw a piece of meat between her teeth and pulled it out. It was the fingernail of a human."

The Black Mouths took the baby along, called through the village that they had found the child, and directed the people to bring wood to burn her.

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[8] "Family" here is used to designate all residents of an earth lodge.

[9] This is one of the holy women and was identified by the magpie tail feather she wore and the ash digging stick she carried.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

They built a large fire and threw the child into the fire. She jumped out three times. The fourth time the baby burned, and its stomach swelled up and burst. All the people she had eaten came out and walked back to their lodges. 773 539

After that was done, this young man made up the ceremony. He made the sticks just like the ones he saw the buffaloes carrying. It was not in the dream but instead of the lungs he put on hoofs. It was the custom to put on this dance whenever the buffaloes were scarce, and then they came near the village. When the young man came back, he was the first to make these sticks. The old men met and came to his lodge to sing the song that went with the sticks. The young man's friends brought their wives, and the old men walked with them.

the ceremonies would begin at such a time, and the people were 561
expected to have a wood supply on hand. The people were expected to be quiet, and stray dogs were either tied up or killed. 796
Both Calf Woman and Scattercorn (her father, Moves Slowly, was singer for the Mandan women) believed that the society was founded by the Mandan and bought by the Hidatsa.

ORIGIN MYTH OF THE WHITE BUFFALO COW SOCIETY 773●

RELATED BY SCATTERCORN 539

The White Buffalo Women's Society began from a dream a man once had
when he was fasting out on the hills. He dreamed that he heard a man calling 561
from far away. He continued to fast. The fourth night the voice was so clear that he could heard the words. The voice kept saying, "Put a child with them." Soon he saw a man coming with two small children in his arms.

The man said, "I am going to give you these two children. Prepare a feast, and I will return to you. I am the buffalo. When you have the feast ready, I will come; you will have plenty of buffaloes all the time."

The man who had been fasting came back to the village and told how a buffalo man had promised him that his people were coming to the village to give him two buffalo children. He asked that the people put up a feast of all the different varieties of corn. He asked two women to come and receive the two buffalo children.

Soon a party of strange women came to eat the food and showed them how to give the dance. When the women left, the two children struggled to free themselves because they wanted to follow the women. One got away, but the other one was kept in the village. The child was reared in the tribe, and it was from this feast that the White Buffalo Society began.

Each winter the women came back to see the child. They were the buffalo cows, so the society danced to give the buffaloes a chance to see their child. The buffalo women would bring the winter buffalo herds with them.

The rule was that a woman should not belong to this society until she was
beyond the childbearing age. This was the highest and last society to which 561
women could belong. Women could not be members while they still had menstruation periods, as it was believed that the blood would drive the buffaloes away.

The society kept four men as singers. They bought their rights and could 561
sell out whenever they wanted to. Before the ceremony of selling was held,
the women put up a sweat-lodge frame which resembled an inverted bullboat 796
frame. The ones buying must supply five or six robes for the cover. Each one buying gave a wooden dish and robes to one of the older women, whom she called "mother," to get her rights in the society. One person was selected to buy the leader's robe, which was white. As soon as the sale was concluded, the new society women lined up. The leader would be on the end of the line wearing the white buffalo robe with the hair outside. The child, a little girl between the years of two and nine, stood in the center of the line wearing a robe with the hair side out. A woman at the end of the line wore the robe of a summer buffalo and was called the summer buffalo. All the other women wore their robes with the hair side in. A woman standing next to the child burned the

Chapter XVII

SUMMARY

796 THE ceremonies were highly formalized and were in part
organized on an annual basis. The Mandan attributed
•773 their creation and appearance on the earth to certain magical
776 acts of the sacred beings who preceded them to prepare the world before creating all the living things. It was believed that the sacred beings protected the people so long as the ceremonies were performed. The Mandan also believed that other peoples created by the same sacred beings in mythological times performed similar ceremonies and that the sacred beings favored those tribes making the most lavish ceremonial display of goods. It was believed that good relations must exist with all the sacred beings. To accomplish this, segments of the total ceremonialism were intrusted to certain individuals or groups of individuals, and the novice was informed that failure to perform the rites in the prescribed manner would bring bad luck.

778 Sacred objects were believed to have *xo'pini*, which informants
translated as meaning "power." An individual's "power"
785 was said to increase if he fasted frequently, assisted others in the purchase of sacred bundles, or bought tribal bundles. This "power" was consumed when leading war parties, being largely gone at the end of the fourth expedition, when a man was expected to terminate his war expeditions. This "power" was believed to be lost a little at a time in the daily life of crossing rivers, hunting buffaloes, training horses, or performing other
[837] hazardous avocations. A man was believed to acquire a great
deal of *xo'pini* from the buffaloes when he invited older men to have ceremonial sexual intercourse with a wife, and, by the same token, men frequently refused intercourse when they had partaken in a number of the "walking" ceremonies. Very old people were believed to have less *xopini*, having given most of it away to the younger people, particularly the men, who re-

796 793 buying subsidiary rights until, when reaching maturity, he had full knowledge of the ceremony. The teaching of a ceremony by sections characterized the entire ceremonial pattern of the Mandan and constitutes one of the major differences between Mandan and Hidatsa ceremonial training, the latter tribe giving the instruction in its entirety at the time of bundle sale.

796 173 The Mandan believed that the Okipa began as a simple buffalo dance at a time when the tribe was small and life was simple and that the ceremony grew in complexity as the tribe increased in numbers and complexity. Crows Heart explained that, as new tribal bundles were added, additional impersonators were added for the "Everything Comes Back Day." The changes instituted since the ceremony was described by Catlin and Maximilian were insignificant. The number of singers was reduced to three, and the torture feature was performed outside the ceremonial lodge.

796 241 It is significant to note that, in spite of the prominent place of agriculture in the Mandan economic life, little recognition was given to agriculture in the "Everything Comes Back Day" of this important ceremony. The Old Woman Who Never Dies was represented together with other holy women by two men dressed as women, and those of one moiety rubbed their wounds with corn meal. Otherwise, little recognition was given to agriculture.

796 173 The importance of mythology in Mandan ceremonialism should not be minimized.[1] Left to his own resources in describing a ceremony, a Mandan informant invariably introduced the subject by first relating the myth. These myths explain the peculiar topography of the Mandan country with lakes and sloughs to the east, badlands and streams to the west, and the Missouri River dividing the two. These sacred myths even explain the creation of the white men and their cattle on the east bank of the Missouri River, where, in mythological times, they were found to be too weak to survive and were sent back across the ocean. When the writer showed Bear on the Flat fossilized clam shells and wood in coal-bearing beds, he immediately explained their presence in terms of the flood sent by Maniga to

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[1] Lowie writes: "Several Plains tribes—notably the Hidatsa, Blackfoot, and Arapaho—utilize widespread tales to account for the origin of rituals" (Robert H. Lowie, *Myths and Traditions of the Crow Indians* ["Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXV], p. 8).

destroy the Mandans. Sacred myths played an important role 796 in the interpretation of situations arising from time to time. 773 First of all, these myths constituted the traditional history of the tribe, and the Mandan were accustomed until a few years ago to return from time to time to these sacred places at and near the Heart River to examine these shrines. My informants often remarked that they would have forgotten many of these stories had they not been able to see for themselves what the older people had explained.[2]

The sacred myths expressed a fundamental pattern of conduct 773 which regulated and to a certain degree regimented the population. The fear of accident or misfortune being ever present, 626 those possessing a considerable knowledge of tribal lore were consulted frequently by those not so well informed. A young man accustomed to consult his elders on important matters was considered wise, and the older people would say, "He will become eminent because he endeavors to regulate his behavior along the line laid down by the sacred things long ago."

The sacred myths established psychological relationships between 796 bundles which to the student of Mandan ceremonialism are otherwise not understandable. 778 In the natives' minds certain bundles are related, and, when a ceremony for one of the 773 bundles of the complex was held, those having bundles believed to be related were expected to attend. The Old Woman Who Never Dies rites will illustrate this point. Since this culture hero formerly cared for her gardens along the Missouri River, the psychological relationship with the Corn Skull bundles is evident. The association of the Bear bundles with this rite become intelligible only when examining the sacred myth in which it is said that she used the grizzly bear for a dog because she was so powerful that all animals were her slaves. Additional information on this point appears in the accounts of the various ceremonies which appear above.

Ceremonies were native dramatizations of the sacred myths. 796 In native theory, the details of the ceremony continued un- 773

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[2] Differences in myths and rites now recognized by the older Mandan probably represent cultural differences between villages which become apparent only when the survivors of the Heart River villages united to occupy a single village.

796 changed from generation to generation. When no sacred myth
belonged to the ceremony or there were no sacred instructions
773 at the time of the inception of the ceremony, the Mandan believed these ceremonies were borrowed of neighboring tribes. The Adoption Pipe ceremony belonged in this category. The sacred myth enumerated the benefits which would accrue to the tribe and the giver of the ceremony when the rites were performed.

773 The sacred myths were the basis for an extension of the kin-
ship system to include the world of the supernatural. First Cre-
602 ator was addressed as "very old one," while Lone Man, who as-
776 sisted him in the creation of the earth, was addressed by persons of the WaxikEna and Tamisik clans as "ptawadatodE" or "mother's brother." Those of the opposite moiety addressed him as "father." Sun and Moon were "father" and their sister was "father's sister." Their mother was addressed as "grandmother," a term also used for the various holy women of the ash groves, the field mice, the corn mill, and all female beings present on the earth on the "first day of creation." An individual addressed a sacred being appearing in a dream and not belonging to the category of tribal gods as "father" if a male and "father's sister" if a female.

778 The Mandan system of bundle inheritance shows evidence of
change within the last century. Certain bundles and ceremonial
425 rights traditionally inherited through the clan and more specifi-
428 cally from the mother's brother, such as the Okipa belonging to
614 the WaxikEna clan and the Shell Robe bundle of the Prairie Chicken clan, showed a tendency to change to a father-son inheritance of the Hidatsa pattern. The eagle-trapping lodges were still inherited through the clan as late as 1929, but the associated bundles had changed from clan inheritance to father-son inheritance after 1875. The system of inheritance was more flexible than for the Hidatsa, with whom they were intimately associated. At first I was inclined to believe that this greater flexibility was due, in part at least, to the breakdown of the older system, an opinion which I have now abandoned. The Mandan parents often selected their daughters' husbands and gave them preliminary assistance in ceremonial matters. The sons and daughters of a household usually purchased the par-

Appendix I

MYTHS OF THE OKIPA CEREMONY

ORIGIN MYTH RELATED BY WHITE CALF[1]

773 My father was named Little Eagle. He was killed sixty-three years ago
539 when out to war along the Mouse River [1867]. My mother's name was Shell Corn, and she died thirty-two years ago. I was born just after my father was killed.

My information comes from Big Turtle. He told the stories to One Side of Feather, Short Bull, Bear on Water, Big Foot Bull, and Two Chiefs when they were buying offices in the Okipa, and I bought my Lone Man's bundle from Two Chiefs, who married my mother after my father was killed."

In the beginning the earth was covered with water. Lone Man was walking along on top of the waves. He turned back to follow his tracks, all the time wondering where he came from. He came to a flower and saw that there was blood in it. The Flower said, "My son, you were born from me. I gave birth to you in order that you could go around in the world and do much work."

He went on, for he now knew who his mother was. He thought that there should be something at the bottom of the water, so he went on until he came to two ducks. He thought that there must be something in the water that his mother came from.

The Ducks said, "There is a bottom to the water."

Lone Man said, "Go down to the bottom and bring me up some earth," and they went down four times, so that he had four pieces of earth from the bottom of the water. He scattered the earth as he went along. When he looked back, he saw that the land had come up from the four pieces that he had scattered. He saw that the land he had made was good; there were trees in places, and some of them had fruit on them.

He secured wood from the trees and made a wooden pipe. He carried it on his arm as he walked along. He came to a buffalo bull, but the bull did not know where he had come from. There was some grass around the spot where the bull stood, and Lone Man decided to scatter that so that the hills would have grass. The bull saw that Lone Man had nothing in his pipe, so he passed water in spots that Lone Man had loosened in the earth.

The Bull said, "You can go on now but come back when you hear a sound like thunder." Lone Man wondered about it as he traveled along. He came to a small mouse with a long nose called Mosquito Mouse, and after that he came to a cornmill, and, because these were found in early times, we still call them "grandmother."

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[1] For other versions of this myth see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 1–21, and also Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland, 1906), XXIII, 304–12.

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He went on with his pipe until he came to First Man (Coyote) and said to him, "You are younger than I am," and there was an argument, each betting that he was the older. Lone Man had a lance representing the two birds that brought up the earth from the bottom of the water. Lone Man stuck his lance in the ground and First Man lay down beside it.

Lone Man walked away and after a while he heard a noise like thunder. He went back to his garden and saw healthy tobacco plants growing there. There were many bees around the blooms, and they were making a sound like thunder. The Bull came back and made a tobacco sack from a buffalo's bladder. He filled his pipe, and the smoke was of fine flavor.

He thought of the bet he had made with First Man, so he went to the place where he had left his lance. He found it warped and said, "I told you I was the older man," so he left the lance and went on. After a number of years he came back and the stick was still there, but First Man's bones were scattered. The fourth time he came back, the stick of his lance was bent nearly to the ground, and he thought that Coyote was surely dead, so he took the lance out of the ground, and, by rubbing it with his hands, it was like new. When he was about to walk away, First Man jumped up, proving that he was the older. First Man said, "We will go around the world, and I will help you in everything that you undertake."

They made over the country. Because the pipe was in two parts which did not come entirely together, water was left between so that the land did not entirely come together, leaving the Missouri River between. Lone Man made the north or east side, and First Man made the other side of the Missouri River. They finished and came back to the Heart River.

Lone Man said, "I made my side flat with lakes, small hills, many rocks, waterbirds, and spotted buffaloes."

First Man said, "I made my land rough with springs and trees so that the people could come close to the buffaloes. I made the buffaloes, and they are fat and dark."

Lone Man said, "I made my buffaloes spotted and tame so that they would be easy for the people to hunt, but yours will be wild and hard to get."

They went around and examined the lands they had made. Lone Man secured a wolf hide for a robe. He killed rabbits to get the hide to put around his ankles as white stockings.

By that time there were quite a few Indians on this land they had made. He was among them, but they never noticed him. He wondered how he could get into one of the women so that he could be born into the tribe. He found a girl eating dry corn, but he thought that she would crack him with her teeth, so he gave that up. One day an old woman and her daughter were in the woods for firewood. The girl went to the river as she was thirsty. She saw a dead buffalo floating along in the current and drew it to shore. Seeing the kidney fat sticking out of a hole in its back, she ate some of it. She told her mother about the buffalo, but when they returned to the river, the animal had broken away from shore.

A month afterward, the girl learned that she was in a family way, and they wondered how it had happened. When it was nearly time for the baby to be born, it heard every word that the people said and thought that it was then time to come out into the world again. The girl was sick, and her mother put her in the lodge where the baby was born. They observed that the baby was painted black on the forehead, and the people knew that it was more than an

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average baby. They wrapped the baby in a hide smoked in the smokehole, and that was not good for him because it caused him to forget himself.

Nevertheless, the baby grew rapidly and soon he was a young man. He knew many things. Hoita[2] was living there at that time and was receiving many fine presents, especially white robes with the hoofs and horns attached. Lone Man wanted one of these robes and wondered how he could get one of them. He hired Thunder, Rain, Whirlwind, and Sun to help him. He did all this to get Hoita's white buffalo robe. The thunder came, followed by rain. The people went inside, but the lodges leaked and everything was wet. Hoita took his fine robe out after the rain and left it in the sun to dry. A whirlwind came along and carried the robe into the air, and it came down far to the north. A party of Indians found it and brought it back to the village. They said that it was even better than the one that had been given to Hoita. Everyone thought that they would surely give it to Hoita, but instead they gave it to Lone Man (Na'-to-re).[3]

Hoita was angry and went to Dog Den Butte,[4] taking all the animals with him. He held the animals there.[5] One day Lone Man went up onto a mound on a hill and noticed that there were no animals around. Soon a raven came along and disappeared to the north, and he thought that there must be something over there. Three white swans flew over, going in the same direction. Then three jackrabbits went by, and shortly afterward a wolf with the front part of his shoulders painted red went by. Lone Man saw seven buffaloes grazing on a hill to the north, and he thought that he would go there and inquire where they came from. He went to the spot where they had been grazing but could not find them, but he found a sharp-nosed mosquito mouse with her six young ones.

Mosquito Mouse said to Lone Man, "You are slowly losing your mind. I have been trying to make you understand what is happening. When you see a raven fly by, that represents your cap; the white swans represent your lance; the three jackrabbits represent your anklets; the wolf represents the robe you are wearing. Hoita has every living thing captive inside of Dog Den Butte. You should go there to see what you can do to protect your people. Then you can have your own ceremony just like Hoita is performing. You should have some young man dress up like Hoita, and, if he comes around, have the young man say 'I am your son because you walked with my mother,' but if he says he never walked with her, say 'She put your medicine bundle against her heart and that is why I was born.' "

After the talk with the mouse Lone Man went on to Dog Den Butte.[6] He saw nothing outside except a few rabbits running around. He changed himself into a rabbit from the roughlands, but they were afraid of him. He ate the cactus, too, and toward morning they all went into the den.

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[2] The speckled eagle.

[3] He is addressed here as "the old one."

[4] These are buttes of Northeast McLean County, N.D.

[5] For a similar Hidatsa myth concerning Dog Den Butte see Beckwith, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-48.

[6] Note that in the other origin myth of the Okipa, recorded above (chap. iv), the ceremony was believed to have originated downstream near the White River in South Dakota. According to native accounts, differences in myths explaining the origin and significance of the same ceremony were common. Informants would say, "the people of the other villages would tell somewhat different stories, but the ceremony was performed in the same way in all the villages."

Hoita said, "You are Lone Man; you are not a rabbit."

That evening they were having a dance, and they used a dried buffalo hide rolled up for the drum. There were two blue herons standing beside the drummers, picking up the bugs that were beaten from the hide. He saw everything that went on inside Dog Den Butte, and then he went back to his village toward morning. They were having a famine in the village. He decided to do just as the mouse had advised. He found an intelligent young man whose mother had walked with the Hoita and told him that a famine was coming and that they should perform the ceremony to free the animals. He called the old people together and told them of his plans. He instructed the young man who was to impersonate the real Hoita.

He secured a dry buffalo hide for the drum and selected two young men with long legs to stand by the drum and impersonate the herons picking up the bugs. Instead of worms they had corn balls to pick up. Lone Man didn't like the hide for a drum and brought in a beaver, but after the beaver was hit a few times, it was broken. He then brought out a badger, but that animal could not stand the blows either. The third time he brought a common turtle, but it could not stand the blows. He could see that it would take something very strong to stand the blows, so he went south to the ocean, and there he found the ocean turtle in the water near a sand bar. He put his pipe before the large ocean turtles, and they smoked. The leader of the turtles asked, "What is it that you want of me?"

Lone Man replied, "I want something strong enough for a drum in the Buffalo Dance."

The turtle said, "The world is supported on our backs, so we four turtles cannot leave here. You can look us over and made drums like us but of the strongest and thickest buffalo-bull hide."

Lone Man went back to the village and secured the hides. He used the thickest part of the neck and sewed it up with the heaviest of hide lace. He sewed an extra piece of hide on the turtles' backs so that, when a hole wore into the back, he could take the piece off and sew a new one in place. The framework was of oak which were the trees that the turtles were supporting on their backs. He put a little buffalo of buffalo sheddings inside of each and instructed the people that the turtles should be repaired secretly in a bullboat anchored in the Missouri River. Young men made offerings of speckled eagle feathers to fashion a collar for each turtle.[7]

Hoita was using a hide rolled up for the drum in his ceremony inside of Dog Den Butte, but Lone Man used the turtles, and the sound was so loud that it could be heard far away in Dog Den Butte. Hoita wanted to know what was going on, so he sent Swift Fox out. The fox went to the village to learn how the people were getting along. Lone Man knew what was being done, so he sent the men out to make a fox trap and bait it with a buffalo rib. The fox came near the village and was caught in the trap. The men tied the rib around the fox's neck and sent him back to Dog Den Butte.

The next day Hoita sent Red Fox out to see what was going on. He was also caught in the trap, and again the men tied a buffalo rib around the fox's neck and sent him home.

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[7] This is the correct description of the turtle drums. Maximilian errs in describing them as sacks filled with water.

The third day First Creator went out and ran over to Lone Man's village He saw that the people were doing well and stayed there. 773

Red Fox said, "Hoita, you are there yourself," and Hoita went over to see for himself. 539

Lone Man knew that Hoita was coming and announced it to the people. The people thought that they would fool Hoita so they made four corn balls and placed them in a row so that he would pass them as he approached the ceremonial lodge. Hoita came in and saw a young man in his place and inquired what right he had to impersonate the real Hoita.

The young man said, "You are my father."

Hoita said, "I never walked with your mother."

The boy replied, "I got into my mother's body the time she put the sage which you gave her next to her breast."

Hoita was suspicious and said, "Get up. I want to look at you. I didn't know that I had a son. Look at me." Every time he looked toward Hoita, lightning came from his eyes. The light came from the fireflies that Lone Man had put in the young man's eyes. Hoita decided that the boy was his son. This was the first time that the turtles were used.

There are many words in the ceremony which are not understood today because the meanings have changed. We understand enough of the words in the songs and ritual to know that they refer to pieces of buffalo meat and the dust raised by the herds when they are running.

Hoita went back to Dog Den Butte and told the animals that they could leave. He sent the black-tail deer to the badlands, the white-tail deer to the timber, the bears to the points in the river, the buffaloes to the flat, and the antelopes to the hills. "The Mandan can go out now and find plenty of meat. All the people will be happy. Lone Man and I will work together, for I have a son in that village." All these people were Nuptadi, and I am one of them myself.

The people were accustomed to cross the water to trade for shells in Maniga's village. They had a boat that would carry twelve men, and it would cross merely by saying, "Go." These shells were on an island. Lone Man wanted to go also, so thirteen were in the boat that time. It was rough in the middle of the water. They landed and went to Maniga's village. The people in that village were accustomed to kill off the Mandan by having them eat, drink, and smoke too much. Then the women of the tribe were offered to the Mandan. The Mandan had brought a sunflower which they had hollowed and through which they passed the food and water. A man with the medicine of the tobacco bee came along, so they were not taken sick from smoking. They used a buffalo tail from which the hair had been removed to overcome the last barrier. Then Maniga's people brought out the shells in large sacks for the Mandan to take back to their village.

Maniga announced that he would return the visit in four days, which meant four years. He came as the flood.[8] Lone Man built a wall around the village, and all went inside. The water came as high as the band on the outside of the wall and could not come higher. This band was of the water willow, but in recent years young cottonwoods are being used.

Maniga liked skunkskins. When the water was at its highest point, he threw the shells over the wall. The sacred cedar is a symbol of the flood in miniature. The cedar represents Lone Man and all the people; the enclosure is the wall he built around the people to protect them from the flood; the band of water willow surrounding the wall represents the highest point reached by the water. After the flood, the water went down in a few days, and there was dry land again.

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[8] Catlin records a variant of this flood story (George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I [Philadelphia, 1857], 277–78).

Lone Man was well built and very good-looking. He never married while he was in the tribe. Whenever there were hard times, he helped the people.

There was a good, young woman in one of the villages who never went out with any of the young men. Burrs got into her dress, and she went into her mother's lodge to search for them. She had taken off her dress and was standing just under the smokehole when a shadow passed over like when the sun is shaded by a cloud. She thought that there was someone on the roof so she hid herself. Not long after that she heard someone singing inside her. Her family could not understand it. In a short time the pain inside nearly killed her. That night a child was born to her, but it disappeared immediately in the darkness. She called her family, and they built up the fire. The child was black in color with white spots. He was jumping up and down, and the family could not do anything with him. He grew very fast. He was always jumping or running about, and they could not do anything with him.

One day his grandfather was making arrows and tipping them with speckled eagle feathers. The boy liked them and wanted to wear some of the feathers in his hair. His grandfather fixed him up a bunch of these feathers. He asked his grandfather for a cane. and he tied a ball on one end of it. One day he wanted to go outside, but they were afraid to let him go outside for fear that he would run away. He begged, and they let him go out. He made great leaps, running up the sides of the lodges. It was great entertainment for the people. His name was OxinhEdE,[9] or Foolish One. He went out among the high hills, jumping from one hill to the other. He killed the sacred snakes and many other things that the people worshiped. He even killed the Holy Women who lived in the ash thickets. All the gods met to decide what should be done with him. Since these gods were working for the benefit of the Mandan, they decided to kill the little black boy.

Foolish One asked the people to make four warbonnets. While they were working on the warbonnets, a heavy fog came up. He went out and returned several times, but at last he did not return. When the fog raised, his father came down from the sun and found his son lying dead on the prairie. He met Lone Man and inquired who had killed the boy. All the spirits that had been present when the boy was killed fled and hid in the Killdeer Mountains. At that time they were in one block, but the black man hit the mountains with his club and broke them into two pieces, leaving them as we see them today, one being the head and the other the body.

The elder Foolish One was painted black all the time. He asked Lone Man what should be done with the body. They came to a large rock. Lone Man hit it with his staff, and it split open. They put the boy inside and squeezed the rock together again. This rock is near one of the old villages at Heart River. Foolish One went back to the sun.

At that time there were four turtles. The people thought a great deal of them. These turtles liked the tail feathers of the speckled eagles and the bald eagles. One was the leader of the turtles. The people gave him a feather of the yearling calumet eagle, and he became angry. This happened on the east side of the Missouri River, opposite and a little above Standing Rock. They could not hold the turtle, and Lone Man was away. A man who was good at thinking said, "I will do that," for Lone Man had said that he would return in spirit if the people would only think of him. Lone Man returned this time. He split the water with his lance, and the turtle lay on the bottom of the river. Lone Man said, "What is the matter?"

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[9] For another version of the incident centering around this character see *ibid.*, pp. 280–81.

The turtle replied, "I am angry. I guess they can get along without me."

Lone Man went to the southwest. Before leaving he said, "When people think of me, I will answer as the south wind."

ORIGIN MYTH RELATED BY SCATTERCORN

The world was sandy and watery in the beginning. When the Lone Man whom we call NumakmaxEna came to himself, he had been walking for a long time.

He said, "Who am I? Where did I come from?"

He turned back and saw his tracks in the sand and decided to follow them and learn where he had come from. At the end of his trail he found a large plant [I'data'ki] about a foot high. It was green with white stripes on the leaves and had a red flower. It was growing in a spring. He wondered if the plant or the bug was his mother. He turned away from the plant and went his way.

He traveled to many different places and met another man, the First Creator[10] [Ki'numakci or Coyote], who said, "How did you happen to be here?"

"I just found myself walking in the world. I know where I walked, but I don't know whether my mother is the red flower or the bug in the flower. I am older than you are."

First Creator said, "I am the older."

They argued for a long while about it. They decided to lie down where they stood and lie there for a long time. There they decayed and were covered with dirt until there were hardly any bones left. First Creator was afraid to get up, while Lone Man thought he was the only man alive. At last Lone Man arose, and Coyote jumped up. Lone Man admitted the other was the older. They decided to call each other the older brothers of the tribe.

Then they decided to fix up the land, for it was too boggy. First Creator took the right side of the Missouri River and Lone Man the left side. They laid out the land to suit themselves, and, when they had finished, they met again. Lone Man said, "I laid out my land flat. I made lakes and only a little timber here and there so that people on the warpath can see a long ways." First Creator said, "I made many ravines, hills, and rocks; I made plenty of springs. I think I made the best land."

They decided to separate, each going his own way. Lone Man came to the Heart River, where there was a hill near by shaped like a heart and he named it Heart Butte. This he decided was to be the "Heart of the World," and this hill is still holy to our people.

He saw a buffalo in a ravine and said, "I haven't seen anything like you since I came here. How did you come here?"

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[10] Also known as Omahank-Numakshi (see Maximilian, *op. cit.*, pp. 301–3).

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"I just came to myself here. What do you have in your pipe?" asked the Buffalo.

"I am just carrying it around."

The Buffalo said, "You should have something to put in it. I am going to make something for it."

The buffalo dug in the sod and passed water all through the rows of the small garden. Then the Buffalo said, "Go on your way. When you hear loud thunder, you will find your tobacco in this place." When Lone Man heard the noise of the thunder, he returned. He found the tobacco all in blossom. The Buffalo said, "This is your tobacco."

He looked at it. There were many tobacco flies on it. They were the ones who were making the noise. Even today we have them, and they make a loud noise.

The Buffalo picked off the ends of the blossoms and said, "I will get you something to dry your tobacco on." The whole side of his coat came off. "You put your tobacco on this, and, when you think it is dry, come back again." Lone Man left the place and went on his way again.

When he returned, he found his tobacco dry. The buffalo was there, and he gave Lone Man a sack for it. The sack was made of a buffalo bladder.

Buffalo said, "Try your tobacco and see if it is good. Then put the rest of it in your bag." Lone Man tried it and liked it and was glad he got it.

The Buffalo said, "Whenever you are out of it, come back here again, and I will get you some more."

Lone Man left and again traveled all through the land he had made. He thought there should be some people living in the world, and he decided to make some. He took two ends off of his ribs,[11] one on each side and made one into a man and the other a woman. He directed them to stay there and build themselves a lodge. Some time after he had made this man and woman he thought of them again. When he returned, he found that they had children, and he was pleased. He married the boys and girls together and did this several times. That is how they increased. Each time he came back, he united new groups.

He was pleased with the manner in which the tribe grew. In this early time, the men called their wives by the name "sister," but, after the tribe was larger, they called them "wife" instead.

The village grew to be very large, and Lone Man said, "Sometimes I am gone a long time. If anything happens, and you need me, you can call me. I will hear and come back."

Every time the village was in need, they called him. When he came back, he traveled through the air like a shooting star, only not quite so fast, a little more like the lights on a car at night. Whenever any little thing came up, they would call, and he became impatient. He instructed them that if anything happened he would not come back but would look back and that the south wind was the sign that they were being answered. This proved more convenient, and, when the south wind blew, they knew that he was thinking of them and answering their prayers.

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[11] The other informants stated that a mudhen brought up clay after the world was made and that this earth was shaped into a man and a woman. The notion of shaping a figure and producing life from it is also expressed in the making of a clay doll by a barren woman desiring children. Curtis also secured similar information of Iron Eyes, his Mandan informant. Another myth speaks of coming from underground, bringing corn up with them.

After the people increased, and the Corn People had come from below, and the Sky People from above, the village was so large that they had to divide it. The number of villages grew until there were five. Lone Man often came back at night and saw how happy they were. This pleased him.

When the villages had grown in number until there were five, he thought he ought to be born in the tribe again so that he could be one of the people. He went to the village and climbed upon the earth lodges to look about, but he had difficulty in finding a suitable young woman to be his mother. In the first four villages he found the girls all foolish about the young men. In the fifth village he found a young woman that he was satisfied with, so he decided he would have her for his mother and be born from her. She had no lovers but went about her business when out in the village. He didn't know just how to get into her body. He thought he would get into her food, but the kernel of corn he hid in fell out of the bowl onto the ground, so he failed in that attempt. He tried other schemes, but in each he failed.

One day the girl and her mother went out into the garden to hoe the corn. While working there, the sun was hot and the girl became thirsty. She ran down to the river to get a drink. The water was up to the willows, and a dead buffalo came floating by near the edge of the river. Its back was cut open, so that the kidney fat was sticking out. She pulled the animal to the bank and ate some of the fat. Then she tied the animal fast to a willow while she ran to tell her mother what she had found. When they returned, the buffalo was gone. They never found it, but the willows were still there. This was the way Lone Man got into her body.

The two women went back home, and there the girl described a peculiar feeling inside of her. The mother told her that she was in a family way. Her mother wanted to know how she got in such a condition, unless she knew some young man. She asked her to name him, but the girl insisted that she had never been intimate with any of the young men. The mother said it was impossible to be in such a condition otherwise. So this was the way that our chief god came to be one of us.

At the time the pains came on, the girl told her mother about them. Her father was one of the chiefs of the fifth village (Nuptadi) of the Mandan. When he learned about this he said, "Whoever you are in there, come out and stop your mother's pains," and Lone Man came right out.

He knew everything they did from the beginning. They had only buffalo robes to wrap him in, but they took good care of him. He grew up in the tribe and became a child of the village. The mother was ashamed to be out in the village and seldom was seen in the company of others. This young boy lived with his grandfather. Every time the grandfather painted himself, Lone Man painted his own forehead red with the paint the grandfather had given him in a little paint bag.

He played with the other small boys, and the other chief of the village often watched them from his seat on the earth lodge. He saw the small boys with robes over them imitating buffaloes running into a small cave they had dug. He noticed that every time they ran in, one of them was a real buffalo calf. He watched the next day, and there was a real calf again. He watched them for four days and concluded that this young buffalo must be the poor fatherless boy. He was much concerned about this; everything was so strange and

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unlike anything he had ever heard of before. If this could be true, he must make friends with this boy, and possibly the boy would give him some of his powers to enable him to rise to the place of first chief of the village. He asked his wife to invite the boy over and give him the finest foods.

Lone Man told the people he had a name, Muska' Ko'oma, meaning "Wild Animal Foating." Each day the second chief's wife called to Muska' Ko'oma to come and eat. The food set before him was made from sunflowers, beans, corn, and pumpkins boiled together. When the boy finished eating, the second chief gave him a spotted eagle feather to play with. The boy liked it so much that he took it home with him. When he returned, he gave the feather to his grandfather. After this he was invited to eat with the second chief frequently, because the boy's powers were plainly seen by that time. He would tell the chief that at a certain time so many buffaloes would come near the village, and the men would go out and always find them. Everyone knew he was a spirit, or he could not predict these things.

In another village, a spirit also grew up by being born into a woman who had never had intercourse with any man. This man was the Spotted Eagle, but the Mandan called him Hoita. Both of these spirits grew up in their own villages; Hoita was the eagle spirit; Lone Man was the buffalo. The people came to recognize the two spirits and made offerings to them. White buffalo robes were considered valuable, and both of these spirits liked them. But one time a man possessing one of these robes got up on the earth lodge and offered it to Hoita. Lone Man became jealous because the people had been giving so many things to the other man.

He thought, "You won't have that robe, Hoita." He went to Thunder and said, "I want you to work for me."

"All right," Thunder said.

"You rain and wet Hoita's robe; soak through the roof and wet it well." Thunder did as directed, and then Lone Man went to Whirlwind and asked him to work for him.

He said, "When Hoita takes his robe out to dry, carry it far away from the village where people will find it."

The rain came and soaked the robe, and then the sun came out. Hoita took the robe out of the lodge and hung it on a scaffold to dry. Whirlwind came and carried it away. Thus Hoita lost his fine white buffalo robe. It was carried far away to the southeast. There were other people living in that direction, and some men looking for buffaloes found the robe. They said, "We will fix this robe up and take it to the Missouri River, for the Mandan place great value on these hides."

This robe was brought to Lone Man's village and bought by the chief. One day the chief climbed onto his earth lodge and offered the robe to Lone Man. When Hoita heard of this, he said, "Let him have it; they have been giving me many things lately." But one day Lone Man took his beautiful white robe out in the sun to air. Hoita saw that it resembled his, and he realized that a trick had been played on him.

Hoita vowed revenge for losing his white robe, so he put on the Buffalo Dance in Dog Den Butte. This was the first time it was ever given. He called all the buffaloes away from around the villages and herded them together in the Dog Den Butte. Every form of living thing was brought into this hill, which resembled a large earth lodge on the inside. The people on the outside were starving, and there was hardly any game to be found. Lone Man would

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go out in search of game, but he could not find any either, but he did find the bones of dead animals on the prairies. These he ordered taken to the village and broken open for the marrow. He would touch these bones with his sacred headdress and sing his sacred songs. There came a time when there was no longer any marrow in the bones.

All this time he knew Hoita was the one who was doing this, but he did not know just how to get around it and bring the animals back. One day he was on a hill wandering about, wondering what he should do, when he saw a raven flying northward followed by a swan, then a wolf, and finally seven buffaloes. He thought how good it was to see them, but when he ran over where they had been, he discovered that they had disappeared.

Finally he heard a feeble voice in the grass say, "We are here, but you can't see us."

He looked into the grass and saw seven tiny mosquito mice with long pointed noses. One said, "This Hoita has got everything in Dog Den Butte, and we are the last to go in. He has all the animals in there. Just a little while ago you saw a raven go by. That raven was your headdress. The swan was part of your headdress too. That wolf was your robe. We are the last ones, and we are going too. Before you know it, if you don't look out, your sacred pipe will roll down the hill into the Dog Den Butte."

The mosquito mice told Lone Man everything and added in leaving as a warning, "If you don't look out, you will be trapped. We are the last ones. You ought to change into a jackrabbit. There are three kinds of jackrabbits, so you tell Hoita that you are a fourth kind and come from the Rocky Mountains. Tell him your legs are longer than the other rabbits and that you jump over the sage brush, hills, trees, and coulees. Tell him that out in the Rocky Mountains you heard of the things going on down here because his medicine was so strong. You must practice passing your manure so that you always pass seven at each leap. He will ask what you eat. Tell him your favorite food is the cactus plant. You must practice eating from the cactus, since he will ask you to eat some. The jackrabbits are turned out of the Dog Den Butte when evening comes, and you must run among them. Tell them you are the fourth kind and that you come from the Rocky Mountains. Tell Hoita that everything must be done by fours, and he will believe you."

He changed himself into a rabbit, and, when he reached the Dog Den Butte, the other three rabbits ran away from him until he told them that he was from the Rocky Mountains. They believed him, and he went into the butte with them.

When they got inside, Hoita asked, "There are only three kinds of rabbits. What is that other fellow doing here? There is no fourth rabbit."

"I am the rabbit from the Rocky Mountains and that is why I am larger than the others. I heard about your taking all the animals in here," he replied.

"All right, if you are a rabbit, pass manure as a rabbit," Hoita demanded. He passed seven each time he leaped just as the mosquito mice had directed.

The mosquito mice had instructed that he should watch everything that happened in the hill and picture everything in his mind. He should observe the arrangement of the lodge, the steps of the dances, and learn the songs sung. When he got back to his own village, he should find a young man who looked like Hoita and have him impersonate Hoita in a big animal ceremony like that taking place in the Dog Den Butte, and have him do all the things that they were doing in the hill. When everything was done just like in the hill, the Mandan would overcome their starvation.

Before he entered the hill, he changed himself into a spider. He crawled down from a rafter until he was near where the singers were. From his hiding place overhead, he looked down and observed everything. After he learned all the steps of this animal ceremony, he returned to his own village but left the fourth rabbit in Dog Den Butte. He told the people that the only way to get away from starvation was to put on the Buffalo Dance (Okipa), for that would make Hoita open the hill and free the animals.

He selected for the leader the man in the village who looked the most like Hoita and gave him instructions for the ceremony. One of the largest lodges was cleaned out for the purpose, since in those days the Mandan did not have a special ceremonial lodge. He informed the leader that he should claim to be the son of Hoita, since Hoita would come over from Dog Den Butte when the new ceremony was given and inquire concerning their right to give the ceremony.

Lone Man said, "Tell him that he once 'walked' with your mother and that you came from that relation. He will remember that and call you his son." The young man agreed. He looked just like Hoita, only younger, and the people were pleased to have such a near-likeness. It is said that when the real Hoita opened his eyes at night, light flashed out of them. Knowing that Hoita would ask the young man to open his eyes, fireflies were put into his eyes. Hoita would ask to see his eyes, and would know the young man was his son when he saw the eyes flash.

The Buffalo ceremony began then. To begin with, a long dry buffalo hide was used for the drum, but, when the people struck the hide, worms came out. So only the Hoxa, ones who had the blue herons as gods, were allowed to beat the hide.

After the ceremony got under way, the real Hoita said, "We have kept all these animals from the Mandan so they probably are all dead by this time."

He sent Red Fox out. He found the Mandan all dancing and having a good time, and the ceremony was just the same as the one going on in the Dog Den Butte. Then Hoita sent out Gray Fox, and he reported the same thing, but Hoita did not believe that it could be true. He sent the magpie out, and the magpie returned complaining, "They are all having a good time, and here you have kept us all shut up here while they are doing all the things we are."

Hoita said, "I will go myself and see," just as the mosquito mouse had said he would when the fourth time came.

Lone Man had corn balls prepared for Hoita. The mice had told him that he should search for corn, sunflowers, beans, and squash to make into balls and to have them ready so that when the real Hoita came there will be some on the outside where he will step on them. Hoita would then wonder about this because he would expect to find all the people starved.

Hoita came just as the mice said he would. He stepped on the two corn balls and turned to the boy who resembled the real Hoita and inquired, "What right have you to be in my place?"

The boy answered, "I am your son."

Hoita replied, "I have no son. You have insulted me by claiming me as your father. How does it come that you are my son?"

The young Hoita said, "I know you are my father because my mother was given to you once to walk with. My mother took the bundle of sage you had in your hand. That sage conceived me."

"If you are my son, open your eyes and look at me," Hoita demanded. When he opened them, something like lightning came out and flashed to the top of the earth lodge. Hoita was convinced and said, "All right, you are my son. I remember the time your mother was given to me. It is good that they put you in my place.[12] Now all these people will be free because you are my son." He turned to Lone Man and said, "You are very smart. You have put my son in place of me, and now we shall not work against each other any more."

He set the animals free as well and told them that the people had not starved. It was the Okipa that the buffaloes had been dancing in Dog Den Butte. From that time on, Hoita and Lone Man co-operated for the good of the people, but Lone Man continued to be the more powerful.

In the Okipa the Mandan first used a drum made of a dried buffalo hide with the hair off and rolled up. When they beat the hide, worms came out of it, and the blue heron was kept near by to eat them. Lone Man did not like the worms and looked around for a substitute.

First he went to the beaver and asked if he would be a drum for the Okipa and let himself be hit on the back, but the beaver said, "I am just a weak thing even though I can cut down big trees. If you hit me once, I would be smashed to the ground."

Lone Man went to the badger, but the badger said he was not strong enough. Then he went to the otter, but the otter claimed to be too weak. He roamed all over the world until he came to the ocean which is southeast of us a few days' march below the Cannonball River. At the ocean, as far out on the water as he could see there were a few very large trees. There were the largest oak trees he had ever seen. He wanted to learn why they were there, so he went out skimming along on the water. He was curious to know if there was land underneath them or whether they just grew out of the water. He carried a sacred staff called *dawo'dokidi* in his hand, and he pointed it down at what was the bottom of the water, and the way opened up so that he could see everything beneath him. There was a large turtle at the bottom of the ocean, and it was holding the trees up.

He said, "I have been looking for something to use for my drum, and I believe you are just what I am looking for."

Turtle replied, "You can't use me because the whole world is attached to me."

Lone Man stuck his sacred lance under the turtle, and everything moved but the turtle. It would not come loose.

Turtle said, "You can look me over and make your drums just like me."

Lone Man looked the turtle over, first on one side and then the other until he had every part of him in mind. He went back to the villages and made turtles just like he had seen. He secured the thickest buffalo-bull hide, and he sewed it up so that it was exactly like a turtle. The wood he used for the legs was of the oak that the turtle in the ocean was holding up. He made four of these turtles, three were of the same size and one a smaller one, and he named the last one "the lean turtle."

When he finished his job, he had the people put the feathers on. Feathers of the speckled eagle were put all over the head, for the buffaloes like speckled

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[12] For details of the "walking" rites of the Buffalo-calling ceremony see chap. xiv, "Red Stick Ceremony."

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eagle feathers. Whenever offerings are made to the buffaloes, the speckled feathers are used even today.

One of the turtles was called the leader. In addition to the speckled feathers, calumet-eagle down was put on his head, but he became angry because he thought it was a snowbird's feather.

He said, "I am going back to the ocean," and he started toward the river. The people tied ropes to him and lashed him to the corn scaffolds to keep him from escaping. Nothing could hold him back when he started. He pulled all the people into the river. There is a place still to be seen where he dragged them into the river. It is marked by a little gully. This place is below the Heart River on the east side of the Missouri.

The escaped turtle said, "You will have three turtles for the dance, but I am going back to the ocean." We have kept the other three since that time, but several times we came near losing them, and it is because they are so holy that they never went away.

When Nuptadi Village was burned by the Sioux, the lodge they were in was burned, but the turtles produced water which protected them, although their feather collars were burned off.[13] Lone Man told the people that sometimes the turtles would need mending. The last man to mend them was Moves Slowly, my father. The turtles were taken to the river and put in a buffalo bullboat and floated out into the river. The boat was fastened to a snag, and the turtles were repaired in the boat, out there in the water. Lone Man told the people that there was a little buffalo in each turtle. While repairing one a long time ago, a man stuck in his entire finger and felt the sheddings of the tiny buffalo. He could hear the breathing. So we are told that a little buffalo was put in. When there were going to be many buffaloes, the turtles became very heavy, but now they are very light. The turtles were used to bring the buffaloes near the villages.

Once our people lived beside a large lake. They had a large boat in those times that was able to carry twelve people. On the other side of the lake was a large tribe of people whose chief was named Maniga. This boat would go by its own power; all the people needed to do was to point it and say, "Go." In the middle of this lake there was a rough place, and sometimes it seemed that the boat would surely tip over. When the people neared the shore, the red willows would turn into warriors and wrestle with them. Beyond the willows was the village of which Maniga was chief. The Mandan crossed this lake for shells which were very numerous on that shore, but they could not get them without being seen by these people. Maniga always called his people together whenever the Mandan came across. He would supply so much food, water, tobacco, and women that many of the Mandan died of excessive indulgence. If they did as they were ordered, Maniga gave them great quantities of shells. They crossed every summer, and the hardships encountered always killed several of the party.

Lone Man said he would go over. He took along a man named Bull Spirit who had the medicine of the water plants and could drink forever. Another man had the medicine of the buffalo that eats all the time. The third man had the medicine of the tobacco bee that lives on the tobacco plant but never gets sick. Lone Man went to protect his people and free themselves from the Maniga. He quieted the rough water and weakened the young men who were the red willows of the bank. They went directly to Maniga's village and ordered the women to bring out the food, water, and tobacco which was already prepared for them. The man with the spirit of the water plants complained of not having enough to drink; the man with the spirit of the buffalo complained of not having enough to eat; the man with the spirit of the tobacco bee complained of the weak tobacco; Lone Man complained that not enough women had been supplied him. Maniga observed that none of the Mandan died and that this party was not like the others. He realized that Lone Man had outwitted him.

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[13] This village was destroyed about 1785.

Maniga said, "You people have gone too far."

Lone Man replied, "It is you who have gone too far, doing all these things before giving my people the shells they need so much."

Maniga gave a large bag of shells to each of the Mandans. Someone put a dead dog in their path, and one of the men kicked it out of the way. Maniga accused the Mandan of being murderers, one of the worst insults the Mandan knew.

Maniga said, "I will visit your village within the next four days," but that meant within the next four years.

When the party returned to the Mandan village on the other side of the lake, Lone Man began preparations for the flood. A cedar post was put up in the center of the village which was to represent Lone Man. Before that time the villages did not have the large open center like they did after the cedar post was put up. A wooden fence around the cedar was to represent the fortifications, and the wood used to tie around the wall was of water willow. We notice that, when the river rises in the spring, it never gets about the bank where the water willows grow, so they must have the power of keeping the waters down.

When the floods came that summer, the waters reached to the willows tied around the wall of the cedar. This cedar protected the people against the flood when Maniga came over. The boat was lost because a foolish boy said, in fun, "Go on your way," and it never returned. This boat was called I'dEHE or "to go with."

We have had the sacred cedar ever since we lived beside the lake a long time ago. Some people think this lake was under the ground and that we left it when we came up out of the ground. Others think it is on top of the ground. The young men who went to the world war thirteen years ago say that the lake is still there and that it is still rough in the center but that it is on top of the ground. I am sure that we once lived beside a lake a long time ago because I have heard so many stories about them. Our old people must have got some of their stories mixed because they tell of coming out of the ground as a tribe and also of the making of the world on top at the Heart River. Others say they came from the sky.

ORIGIN MYTH OF THE SACRED PIPE
RELATED BY WOLF CHIEF[14]

Long ago there was a man running on the water. He was thinking. He wondered where he came from, so he turned around and came to a big flower that grows in water around springs. This flower has a blossom reddish in color. One of the branches was broken down, so he decided that this was where he came from. They called this flower "Great Medicine" after that.

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[14] This is one of the origin myths of the Okipa ceremony.

When he learned that he came from the plant, he wondered who his father was. Someone said, "I am your father," and he thought that it was the day, "the First Day of Creation." All this time he was walking along on the water. Soon he saw another man walking on the water, too, and he went up to the other. He saw that the other man was painted and had feathers on his head. He inquired of the other man where he came from, and the other said he came from far to the south. The two went off together on the water, and at a distance they saw a black spot. They wondered what it was and went there and discovered that it was a little black diving duck.

They questioned the bird saying, "Where did you come from and what are you doing here?"

The bird replied, "I just came to myself here."

"What do you eat to build up your body and live?" they inquired.

The bird said, "When I get hungry, I dive down a long distance. Sometimes I am almost exhausted, but I find dirt and sand there. You can see that I have been down there so many times that my eyes are red."

The two men talked about it and wanted the bird to go for some dirt to make the earth from.

The bird went down and brought up some dirt and handed it to them. It was only a little bit. As they handled it, it grew to the size of a ball. Lone Man divided up the earth into two pieces and gave half to First Creator. He told First Creator to build the west side while he built the east side. We say that the west side is the woman and the other side is the man. They worked on the land, and then they came together. They decided that the center of the earth would be at Heart River and that the river would be the "Heart of the World." On the south side of the Heart River they made the Heart Butte with the dirt First Creator had left over. The Missouri River was in the center between the two sides. On the east side there is a small butte which was made up of the earth that was left over and was called "Big Hill."

After they finished making the land there was nothing growing on it. It was sandy and bare. When they looked over their earth, they saw a little track on it. Upon looking around, they came to the end of the tracks and found a little black mouse. She said, "I was born myself."

They said, "She is going to be our grandmother."

Again they went along and came to another track. When they came to the end, there was a large turtle. They asked him where he came from, and he said that he was born by himself right there.

They traveled along and found a few grass plants here and there. Then they came to a larger track, so they followed the track until they came to a buffalo standing there. They asked him where he came from, and he said, "I came from myself without any parents."

They asked him what he ate and he said, "I am eating these few plants of the grass that are growing on the land here." Then he added, "While you are traveling along you will hear a loud noise; come toward it, for I will be there doing much good. I will fix you some tobacco."

The two men did not know what the tobacco was, and Buffalo said, "You will see what the tobacco is when you come."

They asked him to fix the tobacco at once, and the buffalo agreed. He passed water in spots and then walked off. In places there was something growing.

In less than a year the two men who had been traveling around began to come back in that direction. They decided that Lone Man wanted the east or left side and that First Creator could work on the west side. They decided to separate and go to work. They began to work on the two sides, making the hills, creeks, and trees. They made the different animals and birds also. No one knows how long it took to make the earth. After they finished the land, the hills, lakes, and living things, they met to discuss what each had done.

Lone Man said, "I made almost flat land, with lakes and timber far to the east."

First Creator said, "I have made deep ravines with many springs and much shelter for the game."

Lone Man said, "I made all the different kinds of stock with long horns and mixed colors of red, white, and black. How did you make your animals?"

He replied, "I have made the animals with short horns and hump backs. Since the side I made was the woman, I made much rough land with plenty of shelter. After a while we should go out and look over the land we have made. We will see first how you did."

They went out together to see how Lone Man had made it. They saw all the flat land and the living things and how they were made.

First Creator said, "You made a mistake; the animals are too mixed. Because the land is so flat storms will kill off some of the animals, for there are no shelters or windbreaks. These animals that you made do not have enough hair. With such level land I do not think they will live. I tell you what we will do; we will send all the animals across the ocean to that other land that we made. It may be that in the future they can be used again."

Then they decided to come back to the west side that First Creator had made and examine that. They saw the buffaloes with plenty of hair to live through the winter; there were plenty of springs, hills, and good shelters. Both agreed then that it would be best that they should have it that way.

All this time they kept hearing a noise far away. They remembered that they had met something a long time before, so they went back to the place where they heard the loud noise. They arrived at the place where they had met the buffalo, and they found the tobacco in blossom. There were insects flying around the plants. They saw that these insects were making the roaring sound.

Buffalo said again, "That is the tobacco that I was going to make; you go back again; I am going to fix you a pipe. When you hear someone bellowing, hurry back again."

They traveled on until they heard the bellowing, and then they started back again. While they were running toward the tobacco, they heard a voice saying, "It has almost come together again."

While the voice was calling, "It has almost come together" a second time, they came to the buffalo. They saw that the stem and the bowl of the pipe had almost come together. The stem of the pipe was the east side and represented man. The part where they put in the tobacco was the west side and represented the woman. If the voice had got to the place where it had all come together, there would have been no Missouri River.

When they came to where the tobacco was, they saw that it looked good. They asked Buffalo how they could fix it up, and he said, "I will fix it." He rolled and some of his hair came out. He fixed it up for them to lay the tobacco on.

They asked how to prepare the tobacco, and Buffalo said they would have

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to grease it. They asked how to grease it, and Buffalo said, "You will have to open up my body and get some of the kidney fat to grease it with."

"How are we going to dry up the tobacco?" they inquired. Buffalo made a fire and showed them how to dry the tobacco and break it up. They asked how they should smoke it, and he showed them how it was done.

After they finished smoking, they went out and traveled along, but nobody knows how long. They were talking among themselves and wondered who was the older. Lone Man said, "We will find out. We will lie on the ground; the one who lies on the ground longest will be the older." Lone Man when traveling had a stick on which were alternating black and white feathers. It was painted red and had a feather on the end. He would often say, "This is my body." He stuck this staff into the ground.

First Creator said, "I am going to lie down as the coyote." Lone Man stuck his staff into the ground to act as his body while he traveled on alone. After two years he came back to the place where First Creator lay on the ground. He found the bones scattered around, but the staff was still standing up straight. After four years were up he went back again and found the staff bent so that the top nearly touched the ground. The feathers were gone. He looked over at First Creator and saw only a few bones then nearly covered with dirt.

He thought, "Poor fellow. He wanted to be older than I."

He pulled out the staff, rubbing his hands over it, and it was new again. The First Creator jumped up, and he was a coyote again. First Creator said, "That is what I said; I was the older, and now I have proved it." They agreed that he was the older, and the people believed it after that incident.

(Nowadays we have cattle of all different colors, but they were mentioned a long time ago. That is why we have them today. They all came from the east.)

After the people appeared on this earth, they learned of the origin of the pipe.

Lone Man said to the Mandan, "I am going to leave you some day and go back home. When there is a change in the world, I will be back again. The sign will be when the Missouri River changes its course and flows in the other direction. Then the big trees will grow in the opposite direction with the roots sticking up at the top. Then the antelopes will have no flesh on the lower part of their breasts. All that will be a sign that I will come back again. At that time the people asked him where he belonged, and he said, "I am the wind from the far south. My home is down there. When it is spring, I will send the warm winds from my home in the warm southland. I belong to the WaxikEna clan. If you run out of wood toward spring, you should say, 'My older brother, I am out of wood.' "

They asked First Creator where he was going to go, and he said, "I am going to be among you people forever." It is pretty hard to get rid of these coyotes. Sometimes those of the WaxikEna and Tamisik clans used to talk to Lone Man, saying, "My older brother, I am out of wood, and I want you to send us warm winds to melt all the snow." While they were among these peoples, they did many things.

Since the pipe did not come entirely together, we use two pieces of wood, and so there is a Missouri River. Now they are irrigating up the river and making the waters flow north.

Lone Man said, "We made land to the south where the ocean is. We made the Fish People, and they will come up this way. You will be all mixed up, eagle people, bear people, corn people, buffalo people, and others." And that is the way it was.

ORIGIN MYTH OF OXINHEDE, OR FOOLISH ONE RELATED BY CROWS HEART[15]

One time there was a woman in the village who had never been around with young men. While returning from her field with the other women she brushed into some burrs, and they fastened to her dress. She went into the lodge to take off the dress and remove the burrs. It was dark in the lodge, so she stood under the opening where the smoke went out. Suddenly she saw a shadow at the smokehole, and she hid herself. In a short time she heard someone inside her singing, and it nearly killed her. In the night a child was born to her, and it disappeared as soon as it was born. She called all the family, and they built a bright fire. He was black. He kept jumping up and down, and they could not do anything with him.

He grew very fast and was never still. He was always running and jumping about. One day his grandfather was making up arrows and tipping them with wing feathers of the speckled eagle. The boy liked them and wanted them over his shoulder in a sheath. The boy took the arrows and went out. This was the first time he had ever been out of the earth lodge, for the people were afraid that he would run away. When he got outside the earth lodge, he ran about, making great leaps, running up the earth lodges, and flitting around to the entertainment of the people.

But this little black boy ran out onto the hills where he killed the sacred snakes and many other holy things. He even killed the wicked women who lived in the earth and crept out at dark to entice men away from their wives. He would not stay away from the sacred things. Finally, all the spirits of the sacred things got together and vowed that he must be killed.

One day there was a heavy fog sent by the spirits of the holy things. When it cleared up, Foolish One was not to be found. In a short time his father came looking for him. His father must have been the Sun or lived in the Sun. He found the boy dead and was very angry. All the people of the village had liked him even though he had been so foolish. The father was very angry and demanded of Lone Man who killed his son. All the spirits that had helped kill little Foolish One became frightened of the Sun spirit and hid in a hole on the top of the Killdeer Mountains. At that time the mountains were solid. The spirit from the Sun hit the mountain with his club and broke it in two parts, so that today there are two parts, the head and the body.

Big Foolish One asked Lone Man what should be done with the little fellow. They came to a big rock, and Lone Man split it with his lance. They put the boy in the rock and fitted the rock back. This rock is near one of our camps on the Heart River. Big Foolish One went back to the Sun, and he never came back again. Many still worship him as a great spirit, and we put him in the Okipa on one of the days of dancing because he was here on earth when Lone Man was here.

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[15] This is a brief summary of the Foolish One, who is represented in the Okipa ceremony. George Catlin (*Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* [Philadelphia, 1857], I, 280–81) records another version of this myth.

Appendix II

NUPTADI SHELL ROBE BUNDLE MYTH RELATED BY BEN BENSON[1]

A long time ago the Mandan had no horses. They used dogs to pack their bedding, tepees, and things they took when moving. Each family had quite a few dogs. The camp I am telling of was somewhere south of Mandan. They moved north a little ways to winter in the bottoms around Square Butte Creek. A dog was hitched to a travois with a little boy on it. The dog ran away over the hills chasing a coyote (Kinumakci, the First Creator). This dog came to a ravine and was caught in the brush. He backed up and freed himself, returning to camp without the boy. The boy stood up and cried. He wandered through the ravine until he became very hungry.

While he was walking along, he found a little bow with arrows. Some spirit probably had left it there to save someone's life. He took the bow and arrows and walked along until he saw a buffalo bull. He crept close but not near enough for the arrow to be effective. However, the little fellow hit the bull in the side and pierced its heart. The buffalo fell down dead.

He had no way of butchering the bull. He found a flint knife and opened the buffalo's side near the kidneys. He pulled out the kidneys and part of the liver. He wanted some fat also, so he put a stone under one of the legs and kept hitting the end of the bone to make it break, so he could get the marrow out. Finally, he broke the bone. A piece flew away whistling.

As soon as the fragment struck the ground, he could hear a little baby crying. He went over to see what it was, and, when he got there, he saw that a little newborn baby girl was lying there. He took the baby in his arms. He didn't know what to do with her but finally decided to pull out some of the buffalo head hair to lay the baby on.

About that time, a magpie[2] came and built a fire to cook the food. They cooked and ate. Then Coyote came. He was Kinumakci, the First Creator. He said that he was going to cook some meat and eat it. After he ate he said, "Little brother, bring me some gray sage."

The boy brought in a little bunch of gray sage. The man then took some charcoal and burned the sage to produce smoke. He said to the boy, "Bring the baby here; she is our sister."

The man took the little baby and put her over the smoke, raising her up and down. He said, "I want her to grow." When he put the baby on the ground, she started to walk.

"Bring her back again," he commanded.

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[1] For another relation of this same myth by the same informant see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 96–102.

[2] The magpie is always associated with the Holy Women.

The child was put over the smoke again, and this time the baby could run about. The third time the little girl was put on the fire he talked to her. He said, "Grow little girl, grow!"

This time she could walk, jump around, and talk. But this wasn't enough. So he made more smoke by adding more sage to the fire and raised the girl up and down in the smoke. Then she was large enough to work at tanning hides and cooking meals.

The man said, "This is enough. You have a girl big enough to cook and care for you. I must leave and travel around."

By this time the boy had become a young man. After First Creator left, the boy set to work building a bark tepee[3] or lodge with four posts on the inside. When the girl was a little older, she was a great worker. She could cut up meat and tan the hides as good as any old woman.

She said to her brother, "This lodge of ours is too small; we must make a larger one."

They went out into the woods and burned trees with crotches (the fire was blown around the base by means of a hollow reed) to use for the four posts. They built an earth lodge with plenty of room to live in comfortably.

The girl said, "Brother, it doesn't look right for you to be single; you should get married."

The boy said, "Where am I going to find a wife?"

The girl replied, "Do you want to get married?"

The brother said, "Yes, if you can get me a good wife."

The girl went off and came back. She said, "I have found some girls, but they do not want to marry you on account of your quick temper."

The boy said, "All right, I'll stay single. I have been able to get along all these years. I guess I can get along for the rest of my life."

The sister answered, "Well, don't give up so soon; I will try again."

She went off again. The second time she came back and said that two girls were coming to see him. Then she set to work cooking up dry meat in preparation for a big feast. That night two very pretty girls came. She gave them plenty to eat. While they were eating, she said that she had to go out for firewood so she left them alone with her brother.

The girls said to the young man, "Is it true that you would like us for wives?"

He said, "Yes, but my sister tells me that you do not like me on account of my temper. If you girls think me too mean, leave me alone."

The sisters answered, "No. It is the other way. It is your sister who is mean. She is going to kill you some day. In the night when you sleep, she gets up and goes out to kill people. She puts their scalps on her robe. Her elkhide robe is covered with scalps except in one place on the shoulder. She wants to fill that space with your scalp and intends to do that."

After these two sisters had spoken they went home.

The boy said to his sister, "I am going to kill a young female elk, and I want you to make a robe for me."

All this time she had an elkhide robe of her own hanging up in a bundle. The boy had never seen her wear it. He always wondered why she didn't use that robe. One day he took it down to open it, but, before he did, he smoked sweet grass which grew in low places in the timber. Inside of the robe bundle

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[3] Eagle-trapping lodge type.

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there were many clam shells. He wrapped it up carefully again and hung it up as before. He suspected then that she was more than a common woman. Many nights she was away; many times when he awoke near daybreak she was cooking something, the nature of which he did not recognize. Once he asked her what she was cooking and eating. She wouldn't tell, saying, "I thought you were sound asleep."

One day the boy went away hunting, and the sister was home alone. She said, "I am going to fix up my robe now." She burned sweet grass for the robe, and then she took it down and opened the bundle. When she opened it, the shells were as she had left them. She laid the robe out; it wasn't very large, only two feet square. She had a number of little round scalps and clam shells. She put the scalps on the robe and then placed a clam shell over each. Then the scalps stuck to the robe. She put them in rows. One place was left in front of the shoulder.

She said, "I thought I had enough, but I haven't. I will need one more scalp. I think I will have to get his scalp and put it there. He worked hard to raise me, but I think I will get his scalp for that place nevertheless."

The time when the boy was supposed to be out hunting, he really did not go but stayed near by and hid. He heard everything that she said and then set out for the hunt. When the sister was looking at her own robe, she took down her brother's robe and a blaze of fire came forth.

"Ah," she said, "he has power, too!"

He came back from hunting and told his sister that he had killed some game near by and that she should go out with her hide basket and bring in the meat. Her basket was shaped like a corn basket, but it was covered with hide. She went after the meat.

The girls had told him that, when he escaped from the lodge, he should hide in White Clay Tepee where they lived, or his sister would kill him. While she was out gathering the meat, the boy thought that he would escape. He pondered a plan for getting out. He thought he would go through the smokehole so that she would not see his tracks. He stuck an arrow in the center of the fireplace.

He picked a louse from his head and said to it, "When my sister comes and calls, put her off. Tell her to wait a little while."

He put the louse on the ground. Then he stepped on the arrow and went out through the smokehole, taking his elkskin robe with him. In a little while she came back. She found the door blocked with poles.

She said, "Open it. What are you doing?"

The louse said, "Wait a while; I am busy here."

This continued until the sister became angry and broke open the door.

She called, "Where are you? I don't see you."

The louse, still pretending to be her brother answered, "Over here."

She went to the spot where the sound came from and could not find anything because the louse was hidden in the dirt. The sister knew then that the brother had escaped.

She said, "I know where you are." Then she burned sweet grass before her robe, opened it, and put it on her back. She picked up her digging stick and went away, flying into the air, although she didn't have any wings. She soon saw that the boy was almost to the lodge where the other women were living.

She said, "I'll get you before you get there." Just as she was about to catch up with the boy, the door opened, and he ran in. The women were inside.

They were angry and said to his sister, "We are the ones who told your brother to come in here in order that he might save his life."

The boy's name was One Feather on the Head (Wo'kide), and the girl's name was Feather on the Head Woman (O'kimi'hE). The girls and the boy had digging sticks, too. Each time they hit at the sister, she would go up in the air, so they could only hit her legs.

The boy said, "I'll get her." He came out with his bow and arrows. While the sister was fighting, she had two magpie feathers stuck in the back of her head. The brother took his bow and arrows out and shot at her. The first shot hit the center of the tail supporting the feathers and split one feather. He had been told by a meadowlark when he came out of the lodge that he should aim for the feathers in her hair. She fell down and was dying. After she was on the ground, he walked up to her before she died.

She spoke to him saying, "Brother, I am all finished now. Take my robe and go home. Take good care of it because it is the same as my body. You can go back to your people where you will have power over them because of this robe."

He went back to his people and did as he was told. His father and mother were living yet, and they were so glad to see him that they cried. He had the medicine robe with him and told them what it was and all about it. Since then the Mandan people have called that robe "Young Grandmother." The boy became a great man and kept that robe until he died. Then another man took it.

The descent of the robe went from father to son or father to daughter and her husband. Each had to pay for the robe when he got it.

Appendix III

AWATIXA SHELL ROBE BUNDLE MYTH RELATED BY BEARS ARM

The people came from Knife River after corn-planting time. They followed the Missouri River and went over toward the Little Missouri, crossed it, and were between the Little and Big Missouries. The camp was of Hidatsa. They were traveling along. It was at the time when the young meadowlarks were old enough to fly. There was a young woman who had a small brother in the party.

The little brother said, "Sister, I wish to have a young bird," so the sister took her little brother away while the main camp traveled westward. They went off to look for a young bird. Somehow the two got separated from the main party and lost their way.

The main party sent out scouts looking for the girl and her brother, but they failed to find them. The camp went on and turned to the southwest and traveled far. The girl and brother went to the Little Missouri River and came to a place suitable to camp. She put up a little lodge like the men use when eagle-trapping. Near by there was a high cliff and just below it was a level place. He became a hunter; she put out snares and caught rabbits. In that way they made a living. Near the lodge was a spring of clear water. They stayed there for some time. Soon the boy grew up and was big enough to use a bow and arrows. Before that time he would use stones to kill young prairie chickens.

He said to his sister, "It is about time for me to have a bow and arrows."

She replied, "Go out and get ten young cherry branches and flints. Take them to this high cliff and lay them down at the foot of the cliff and say, 'Make me arrows.' Lay them down and come home."

The boy got the sticks and flint and took them to the cliff. He spoke as she had instructed him to. He came home, and his sister said, "In four nights you can go back and see about your arrows." He left his arrows there.

Meantime his sister, being mysterious, would go out to find game and bring the meat back.

After four days, the sister said, "You should go over and see about your arrows," so he left for the cliff. When he came to the place where he left the sticks, there were ten arrows with feathers and flint arrowheads. Beside them lay a good bow and string.

The boy said, "You have done me a fine turn by making these arrows for me. I will shoot with these and stop throwing stones." He took the bow and arrows to his camp. He was now able to kill bigger game.

The two lived there for a long time by themselves. One day the boy was home alone while his sister was away as usual, for she had begun to leave each day. She would go far out. She would cause the people to have wars between themselves so she could come home with scalps. She had a robe of her own,

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and she made one also for her brother. She had one in particular that had scalps fastened to it. Every time she came home, she would spread her robe out on the floor and put a new scalp on the robe. She would use a small clam shell to fasten the scalp to, and some way the scalp and shell would cling to the robe.

One day she went off in the morning. A meadowlark flew by and said, "Your sister is planning to kill you. You must do something to save yourself." Meantime the sister, being able to go all over, found White Lodge Butte called Where the White Lodge Stands. [This butte is between the Little and Big Missouri rivers near the western border of the Fort Berthold Reservation.] In this lodge lived two women who each had a daughter. The sister went to the lodge, saw the two women, and said, "I have a brother who wishes to take your daughters as his wives."

The two women said, "Our girls are young, and they are good girls. We will think about the matter." The sister left the lodge and, being holy, heard everything. She heard the two women discussing the proposal. They said, "No doubt the boy is a good boy, but we know the kind of person his sister is."

The sister went home. When she got back to her camp, she told her brother of the proposal she made for him. One day the sister went away as usual. He, too, was going out on a hunt that day. He picked a louse from his hair and left it in the lodge, saying to it, "You take my place and, if she comes back, don't answer her. See what she does."

He left, and soon she came back. She said, "I know my brother, Feather on Head, that you were out, and I know that you are here." No answer came. She went in and took her robe down. She said, "Right here is where I am going to put you," meaning the brother's scalp. During that time he ran over to where the White Lodge stood. He arrived, and the women came out.

He said, "I have come to you people to see if you could give me some help. My sister is planning to kill me."

The girls went in and told their mothers what Feather on Head had come for. The women said, "Yes, we will help him when the proper time comes."

The girls came back to Feather on Head and told him what their mothers said. He said to the girls, "From this time on watch for me, for I will run away from my sister and come here."

He returned to his lodge and stayed there for some time. Meadowlark came and said to Feather on Head, "You must hurry and get away from here. Go a long ways off and kill a large buffalo bull. When you have it skinned, take the hide and spread it on the ground and cut your meat up in small pieces. Pile the pieces up on top of the hide. Then you must go back and tell your sister that you have the meat cut up and piled ready for her to come after."

He did as the meadowlark directed. He killed the bull, skinned it, spread the hide, piled the meat on the hide, and cut the meat up in small pieces. Then he returned to the lodge and told his sister that he had killed a buffalo bull and had the meat piled on the hide.

She said, "All right, I will go after it, and I will find the meat no matter where it is."

She always had a piece of buffalo hide that she wore over her back so she would not get her dresses bloody. She started out and went over the hill. Feather on Head followed her for a ways, and he saw her going over a ridge. He came back to the camp and picked up what few things belonged to him and ran as fast as he could for the White Lodge. When he was near the lodge,

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he saw his sister coming after him. She was wearing a light feather painted red on her head. She overtook him, and he shot her with an arrow. She lifted her arm to shield her face, and he shot her in the chest. She reached over and pulled the arrow out. When she was nearer, he shot again, and she turned, raising her right arm to shield her face. He shot her in the right side of the chest. At that moment Meadowlark came along and flew over Feather on Head's head. She said, "Shoot the feather on her head." He took an arrow out and shot at the feather on her head. He cut the feather in two. She bled, for the feather on her head was her heart.

Before she fell over and died she staggered around, saying, "This is my mistake. I came to kill you, and now you have killed me."

She was wearing the robe that had so many scalps on it. She said, "Brother, you may take this robe. If you wear it in the battles, you will always come out victorious. The songs that go with the robe you will learn in a dream."

The young man took the robe. She died with her head toward the east and her feet toward the west.

Just then the girls and their mothers came. They helped take the robe off of the dead woman. The young man went back to his camp. When he got back there, he wept. The woman and the girls at White Tepee carried out a buffalo robe from which the hair had been removed. They dug a grave and put the body on the hide. They wrapped it around her and buried her there. They did this because there were so many coyotes and wolves. They knew that if they left the dead body on top of the ground, the wolves would come and eat her flesh.

The young man came back to White Lodge and married the two girls. He stayed there for a long time. He hunted and killed many kinds of game. The time came when he grew homesick. He would get up on the lodge with his head bowed.

His mothers-in-law said, "We know where his home is, and we know that he is lonesome. You girls are his wives, and you will have to go with him if he decides to go home."

The wives inquired whether he was lonesome, and he said, "Yes, I am getting lonesome; I want to see my people, and I feel sad because I killed my own sister. In a way, it is all right that I killed my own sister; if I had not killed her, she would have killed me."

The wives said, "If you want to go back to your people, we will be obliged to go back with you."

He said, "I am glad that you are going with me. You prepare for the journey, and in a few days we will go back to my people."

As soon as his wives were ready, they started back to the village at Knife River. It took them several days to make the trip from White Lodge to the mouth of Knife River. They arrived home, and he was glad to see his people. They were glad to see him back safely.

His wives said, "Now, we want you to leave other women alone; do not have anything to do with them. Do not let any woman touch you. If you touch any woman, we will leave you and go back to our home."

One day he went to the river and bathed. He came toward his lodge. When he reached a narrow place where the lodges were grouped closely, he met one of his sisters-in-law, and she said, "You had it announced that no one would be allowed to touch you. I am going to touch you."

"You must not lay hand on me," he replied and tried to run around her. She seized the corner of his robe and cut it off. She threw it onto the lodge.

He went home. As soon as he went in, his wives said, "You have been touched. You know that we told you not to be touched by any other woman. We must leave you."

He begged his wives to stay, but they said, "No. We will have to go."

The corn was high by that time, and the sunflowers stood even higher. They walked through the fields to the edge of the gardens. They stopped there. He kept begging his wives to return to the village with him. While he stood there looking at his wives, they changed into two tall, wild sunflowers.

He could do nothing more, so he returned to the village. He told the people what had happened. He said, "Do not pull up wild sunflowers or urinate close to them."

In the meantime he learned all the songs that went with this Sacred Robe. That robe was handed down to the proper ones, and Wolfs Ghost was the last one to keep it. People used to go into his lodge to worship this sacred robe and offer sacrifices to it. When Wolfs Ghost died, a few years ago, that robe was still in his lodge, and nobody knows what became of it.

Feather on Head had the robe, and he would wear it whenever the enemy came to attack the village. It was very hard for the enemy to do anything to him, for the robe protected him. He married again and raised a family. He went up to White Lodge, but there was no entrance. He became famous as a great warrior and died of old age. When the smallpox of 1837 came, Bobtail Bull was the owner. He came from the Mi-tu-tan-ka Village of the Mandan.

Appendix IV

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON EAGLE-TRAPPING

223 538 Evenings were spent in storytelling. The leader would acquaint the trappers with the myths associated with eagle-trapping. There were many of these myths, and a good leader would be able to consume every evening for the usual four weeks in camp without exhausting his stock. Each was related in great detail with endless repetitions. Some of the longer myths consumed four nights in telling; others were short and could be related in one night. All were expected to listen attentively while seated on a buffalo robe. Those who nodded were pinched with the bird stick. An example of the stories told is given below.

MYTH OF BROWN OLD MAN RELATED BY WOLF CHIEF[1]

373 539 There are two ways of telling this story; one is that he came from the heavens and the other that he came from the earth through being born of a woman. I heard many stories, when nineteen years of age from Small Ankles, my father, and Chief,[2] my father-in-law, in the winter village at Blue Buttes above here. Even the older people would have them come out and tell the story to them and put on a feast to them.

Brown Old Man came to the village and always knew himself that he was not a real human, but he would stay with them. When they needed meat, he would call the buffaloes. If they needed rain, he would call it. The people did not know, and he never told them, who he was. After he had been with the people a while, he thought that he would marry. In the spring the buffalo hides get brown, and he had one of those brown hides for a robe until they came to call him Brown Old Man. Sometimes the people would invite him in and feed him well. Then he would say that this man will strike an enemy; sometimes he would say two or more, and it would always come true. Still the people of the village did not know who he was at heart. At last the people began to realize that he was trying to be a holy man, and they would say, "If he were a real medicine man, he would have a good living with more to show for his powers." He felt bad when he heard it but would say, "I am a man who saves the people here." At last he was getting old and white, and his wife was old and white too.

There was one man in the village who invited in Brown Old Man often, and, when he went out to fast, he dreamed of Brown Old Man. He saw in his dream this Brown Old Man painted all over so that he looked more like a

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[1] For another relation of this myth by Wolf Chief see Gilbert Livingston Wilson, *Hidatsa Eagle Trapping* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXX, Part IV [1929]), pp. 187–94. There is also a very brief version in Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 204–5.

[2] Chief was a Mandan of the Prairie Chicken clan.

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bird. When the young man was with the war parties, he would be the first to strike, and he thought that this was being caused by Brown Old Man. Brown Old Man's lodge was small, and he had only a few articles in it, but he was a medicine man, nevertheless. One day this young man called Brown Old Man and gave him and his wife some pieces of meat.

Brown Old Man said, "My son, I am the one who gave you the dream and spirit; you are my "son." I am the man who gave you the power to strike the enemy and made you chief."

The young man began to tell his dream, saying, "In my dream I saw you painted all over, and you looked like a bird and had bird claws, but I never told you or anyone else."

The old man said, "That is right; I am not really human. When I gave you that dream, you were not supposed to tell it to your own people. You dreamed that you saw me painted all over. I had a father who was a red bird. That is why you saw me painted with red paint."

The young man was happy and took off his leggings, moccasins, and robe, which he gave to the old man. Brown Old Man said to the young man, "You have already seen me in your dream, and I think you will be successful."

Even when the young man went out eagle-trapping he would succeed in bringing back many eagle tails. The old man would smoke some days, and then he would take on new life again. In the fall the people in that village would go out eagle-trapping in all directions; some went to the Little Missouri River; others went along the Missouri and Yellowstone, so that the people were scattered out in camps all over the roughland. The old man said to his wife, "I am going out to the west and see all my different sons."[3]

At this time not even the old woman knew that he was a bird, and she said, "I do not think you can find your way. You are too old." His "son" who had dreamed of Brown Old Man had already left and was at the mouth of Yellowstone River in a camp called One Cottonwood Camp.

He replied, "I am going to One Cottonwood Camp."

She said, "You can't find that place; you are just childish and think you are young again."

He said, "I know all the earth; of course you do not know me; that is why you say that. When I am ready to go, you will go with me a little ways until we come to a hill. Then you can come back. I am not really human; I am different altogether from humans. That is why we did not have any children."

They walked out of the village to a hill, and he said, "Cover up your head and you will see a god."

She covered herself and did not see him, but she heard a noise like a big bird. Then she was sure that he was something else besides a human. Before she took the robe off, her husband was flying through the air just above her, singing a holy song. When he told her to take the robe off, she looked up and saw her husband had turned into a spotted eagle.[4] When she saw the big bird, she cried and lay on the ground while the bird flew around. He said, "You can go home; I will come back some day."

He flew up the Missouri River and came to the hills, south of the present Fishhook site, called High Butte Trapping Place. There were some people in the hills trapping eagles. Before he reached the village he changed into Brown

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[3] Sons of clan brothers.

[4] The Hoita of the Mandan Okipa ceremony represented the spotted eagle.

Old Man again. He carried a cane and made them believe that he was an old man. He walked toward one of the little lodges, and they said, "There is Brown Old Man; we should take him in and feed him."

Others said, "We don't want to bother with him."

Some treated him well, while others let him go without food. He went into one lodge and was fed; then the young man said that he would give him water and asked the old man to open his mouth so that he could put the water into it. When it was dark, the old man was still sitting near the door. Some thought that, being old, he might have some stories to tell, but others thought that, since he did not have much wealth at the old village, he would not know very much. Some were good to him and said, "Brown Old Man, we would like to hear a story." But others did not care to hear it.

Brown Old Man said, "I may not be able to tell a good story, but I will tell a story. One of you go out and bring a block of wood and set it before that buffalo skull for me to sit on."

One of them found a block of wood and left it before the skull. Brown Old Man folded his brown robe, put it on the wood, and sat on it.

He said: "A long time ago there was a red bird, and he had a son. The son thought that he would go among the people and turn himself into a human and be born among the people to lead them. (When he mentioned these words, some said that he was crazy, and they wanted to drag him outside, while others wanted to hear it all, thinking it was a good story.) There was a man there who thought that he would take some of the young people as 'sons,' and then they would strike the enemy, bring buffalo or rain; and everything happened as he had predicted. Sometimes in the fall the people would go out eagle-trapping, and he thought, since he knew all the places, he would tell them where to go to have good luck, and it was always so. Even then the people would not believe it. (Some wanted to throw him out; others wanted to give him a feast.) This bird they would call Brown Old Man. When he was old, he would smoke himself and get new life. He was always leading his people even though they did not realize it. In the fall they were all out eagle-trapping. Brown Old Man was getting very old at that time; his wife was old too. The old man told his wife that he was going out to see all his sons, but she did not believe that he knew the way and thought that he would get lost. Brown Old Man told his wife that he knew all the places and would not get lost. He asked his wife to go out a short distance, and they went out a short distance together. He told her to cover up herself, for he was not a true human; she heard a noise like a bird. He flew up into the air and sang a holy song and told her to uncover herself. She saw a large spotted eagle flying above her. She cried and rolled herself on the ground all the time the large bird was flying around in the air. He told the old woman to go back and that he would return to her some day. The bird flew up the river to the place where the people were trapping eagles, and there he alighted and turned into an old man with a cane. He walked into the camp. Some of them treated him well; others did not. Some fed him, and others wanted to throw him out. When the old man finished eating, the good young man took his mountain-sheep horn spoon and gave him water. The old man thought, 'I know that the rest of the men here do not like me. Those who treat me well will get birds, for I am a big bird; but those who treat me badly will get none. Those who treat me well will get six or seven eagles.' "

By that time all the men were looking at Brown Old Man. He said, "To

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the one who treated me best and gave me water, I will give the power to catch twelve eagles. I am that Brown Old Man." Then he changed himself into a spotted eagle and flew out, saying, "You people see that I am holy," and was gone.

The next night he reached a place called Buckbrush Trapping Camp (the hills around Slide Coulee). When they saw the old man, they said that they were crowded and that he might pass his water inside the lodges. He sat outside until it was getting dark, and some said that they should take him in or he might freeze. They called him in and fed him and wanted him to tell a story.

He said, "I came, and the people would not take me in; they will not get any birds, for I am a bird."

He flew away. When he left, all the people there worried about him. They did not get any eagles at all that year, and not even deer or buffaloes. At last they were starving and went back to the village.

He came to a camp called "First Trapping Place" (below Sanish). When he stopped there, he saw many people. They had much dried meat hanging in the trees and were having a good time. As soon as it was evening, he changed himself into an old man with a cane. He walked toward the village.

The people there said, "I wonder how he got here; he is such an old man."

They said to the younger people, "You should take care of him, for the young should always treat the old kindly."

Even his moccasins were worn out, and they gave him new ones, showing him every kindness. They wanted him to tell them a story, and he called for a block of wood which they brought and put beside the buffalo skull. When he told the story, he told how he came to the first trapping place. Some treated him well. He promised twelve eagles, to the man who gave him the water, but those who were not kind to him would get none. At the second place they did not like him because he was old, and they were afraid that he would wet in the lodge. They would not get any birds or food but would starve because they did not know that he was a bird. He changed into a bird and flew out the smokehole. He came to the third place, and they treated him well, and, when he was near, the young men ran to tell the camp that the Brown Old Man was coming. They fed him, gave him moccasins, and treated him well. All those would get twelve or more birds each and have plenty to eat.

He thought, "They have treated me well, and I will sing my medicine song to show them that I am holy." As he was changing into a bird, he said, "You see me as a bird. I am your father," and he sang as he flew off:

Hiu ho ho ho Hiu ho ho ho

They were lucky in getting eagles and found plenty of game near the camp.

He went on and came to the mouth of the Yellowstone River. It was here that the young man who had a dream from Brown Old Man was living with his younger, unmarried brother. When he came to the village, there were no men there, but the son's wife was there; also another man's wife was there. The latter treated the old man well and gave him food and water, but the former did not treat him well even though she was the wife of the old man's "son." The good woman took him in and talked to him.

In the evening the men came back, and Brown Old Man's son said to his wife, "What did you do to my father? Did you feed him?"

She said, "I didn't do anything to him, and I did not feed him."

The other man asked, "What did you do to the old man?"

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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His wife said, "I brought him in and gave him meat seasoned with peppermint and fresh water. I noticed that his moccasins were worn through, and I gave him new ones."

The other man was angry because his wife had not treated him well. When he went out trapping, he was unlucky, but the other man whose wife had treated Brown Old Man well got many birds. The Brown Old Man wanted to give his "son" eagles but thought he would not, since the woman had not treated him right. The lucky man got many eagles, and at last he found a white buffalo near the village and killed it. After they had been there some time, the weather began to get cold, so Brown Old Man decided he would leave soon. He wanted to tell a story before he left, so one night he told the men that he was going to tell a story.

He said: "There was a spotted eagle who came to the people changed into a human. They called him Brown Old Man. He gave a dream to a young man and took him as his son. This old man would say that certain things would happen, and they did. Brown Old Man thought that he would go out to see the people at their traps and that he would call on his son. He took his wife out on a hill and she saw him in the air. He came to different camps along the river. At some of the places he was treated well; at others he was not. He thought that those who had treated him well would get many eagles, but those who did not would not have good luck. He came to the second place and was very badly treated. They would not take him in for fear he would dirty the lodge. The old man knew everything they said. He thought that, since these people treated him so badly, he would not give them any birds. He came to the third camp, and most of the people treated him well, and he was glad. They would catch many eagles and have plenty of food. When he left that place, he thought again of his son, a young man whom he loved very much, and decided to go to that camp and see his son. When he came to the fourth place at One Cottonwood Camp, he changed himself back into a human. When he was near, he found two women outside. His "granddaughter," he could tell at once, did not like him; the other one liked him and called him in to feed him. He thought that even though this woman's husband was not his son, he would bring him good luck. Since the other one's wife did not like him, he would not get any birds. Instead he would get dirty and covered with grass in the pit. He thought that this man who was not his son would catch five eagles and also kill a white buffalo. That Brown Old Man is myself."

He went back to Knife River again.

The man whose wife treated him well caught twelve eagles and killed a white buffalo. The "son" and his wife quarreled after that and could not get along together. Before leaving the place, he killed a white buffalo also. The other man was lucky though and killed much game. He had a white buffalo hide, and he and his wife were happy. He said, "We should go home, for it will soon be cold weather."

They broke camp and came back along the Missouri River. They reached the hilly country below the Yellowstone River. All that time the son was angry, and, as they walked along, he said, "We should stop here, my wife, and let the others go ahead." The man's brother liked the wife and wanted to stay back with them, but his brother sent him ahead. He set up two sticks in the ground, and then he tied his wife to the sticks and built a fire under her. He let her burn to death. The others were ahead waiting for them to catch up.

After a while he came alone, and they asked him where his wife was, and he said, "She will come up."

Then the boy said, "I think I will go back and see my sister-in-law."

The husband said, "You can go back if you want to." When the boy came back to the place where they had stopped, he saw something but at first could not tell what it was. He walked toward the place and saw an owl, a wolf, and a black bear there. When he saw the three animals, he began to cry. His sister-in-law was there and said, "Do not cry. I always loved you. This wolf, owl, and little bear brought me to life again." When he looked at her, he saw that her eyes looked bright while her hair was light-colored and long.

She said, "Do not cry; I am your medicine now. I am holy, and you will be holy too. Your brother fastened me to stakes and burned me, but this black bear came and cleaned out the bad spirits. The owl fixed my eyes and hair, and now I am holy. The wolf fixed up my body."

Black Bear said to the woman, "I know that you have suffered; Brown Old Man was responsible for that. We know Brown Old Man's father, the Red Bird, and I think I will get rid of him."

She said to the boy, "You are old enough; we could go back to the lodge and trap eagles." They went back to the lodge. Beside the door was a snare singing a holy song:[5]

Young woman, she is crying, but she will be holy.
Young man was crying, but he will become holy.

(This song is used just before going into the holes and means that everything will be caught.)

Then the snare said that everything would be caught or held tight. (They used this song when putting up the snare in the trapping lodge. I fasted while eagle-trapping and heard a song, but it had different words:

The young man was crying, and for that he became different.

That time I held an elkhorn on one side of my chest and a mountain-sheep head on the left. They had cut a hole through the skin of my shoulders, and I had a buck head fastened there to thongs through my flesh. I was running around the lodge when I heard the song.)

They moved into the lodge and cleaned out the pits to trap in. After a while they each caught a bird. They did not have much meat in the camp, and after a while the woman said to the boy, "You should go out to hunt," but the boy thought he was still too young.

She said, "I think you can. If you find a buffalo, you will be able to kill it. While you are gone, I will go into the pit." She brought in two eagles,[6] and he killed two buffaloes. After that they had plenty to eat and got along well.

The woman said, "You remember the time we were here; your brother was angry at me for not taking in Brown Old Man. He nearly killed me, but Little Black Bear said that he was going to catch Brown Old Man's father. I think if we got thirty eagles, it would be enough to satisfy your brother for the trouble I made him by failing to feed Brown Old Man. You go out and you will see some buffaloes. There will be a white one; you get the hide to give to your brother."

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[5] "Song of the Snare."

[6] Mandan and Hidatsa women were not permitted to trap eagles.

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The boy came back with the white buffalo, and, it being just at the beginning of cold weather, it was of good quality. He said, "You should tan it and keep it for yourself." Just then he noticed that she had caught some eagles and had carried them to the camp.

She smiled and said, "You treat me very well. In my dream I saw the snare that hangs on the wall, and it was singing a song. It was the same thing I dreamed of. I also dreamed of the small black bear and the Bear said, 'When I use this snare to trap with I never miss, no matter what animal I go after.' You know when we came into the lodge at first we heard that snare singing. It sang two songs for us, and I want you to own those songs because I was killed by your brother. You came to see me and were crying. All those things you did for me I have not forgotten; now you have given me this white buffalo hide, so you can own those two songs, and, any time when you are having bad luck, you can use those songs. When you want anything, sing these songs, and your wish will come true. Keep them for the future, for it will be better for you to have them, since you are a young man. It is a rule that we are to stop trapping now, for the river is beginning to freeze up along the edges. Even the Black Bears quit at that time. The eagles might take some human lives or take away our spirits. As soon as I finish this tanning, we should go home."

They put all the feathers, thirty sets in all, together. She packed up the meat, and then they went back toward Knife River. They stopped several times on the way before they reached home.

Before going into the village, she said to the boy, "I know that your brother was angry, but it was my mistake; he was angry about not getting enough eagles and the white robe, so we will go back to your brother's lodge. You give him the thirty tails and robe and say, 'I want you to take back my sister-in-law again.' "

The woman looked changed now with different eyes and hair that was combed down. When they went into the lodge, they found that her husband was making arrows. He did not recognize the woman with his brother and wondered who she was. Even the younger brother looked different, for he had been among the gods.

The younger brother said, "I know that you are angry about those eagle tails and white robe, but you can have these, and I want you to live with her again." He put the robe over his brother's shoulders. Then his brother began to cry.

The older brother said, "What you said, is all true. The Brown Old Man was my god and loved me and that is where the trouble began, for your sister-in-law did not treat him right. I burned her, but now I can see that she has turned into a holy person, so she can stay here and be my holy spirit and look after me. She can look after the village too."

The woman said to the boy, "I have taught you the two holy songs that were sung by the snare, and you know them already. You keep them and then you will be chief and look after the village. I am not going to stay here forever. Once I nearly died, and those three gods brought me back to life. Some day I am going back to the owls."

This woman lived with her husband again, but he was always afraid of her, since her actions were different and she did not talk very much. They did not get along like they had formerly. Before they were aware of it, the woman disappeared.

In the same village there was a man who was always changing himself into a black bear. He was good at trapping eagles, for he was the head of the trappers. He grew to be a very old man. He planned to go out trapping and selected six men. They came to the high buttes just below Fort Stevenson. He had experience in trapping, but the other six did not know anything about it. He went out with them fixing the pits, and then he sent them out after bait. He would sing a holy song for them.

He said, "I have my trap prepared; my trap is between those trees. You young men ought to make offerings. If you have any colored birds at home promise them to the eagles. If you have any meadowlarks with bright yellow breasts, offer them to the eagles if you catch any eagles."

He asked each of the young men where his pit was. There was one boy who was poor and had no parents. When he came to the poor boy, that one answered, "I have mine close to a spring, for I thought the eagles might get thirsty and come there to drink. I might get them there."

The old man said, "You did right. You should ask your grandmother. She might have something that you could give to the eagles as offerings."

Then he would talk to each young man, telling him to make an offering. The last time they were making an offering, the poor one peeped into the lodge and said, "Now small Black Bear, I want to make an offering to you that some day you will make my grandmother[7] your mother-in-law," and the Black Bear said, "That is a good thing."

Black Bear said to the young men, "After it has snowed, I want all of you to hunt a deer. If you have a chance to shoot it, do not follow it, or you might drop dead."

After a while it began to snow. When it had cleared, they went out, shot a buck, and saw it run into the trees. It fell down between the trees. When they saw the animal fall down, they said, "We must not follow it, for we are not supposed to go up to it."

They came back, and the old man said, "I do not think that deer fell close to my trap so it will be hard to catch that red bird. If I drag the deer to the bait, the bird will know it. I think the only way I can catch that red bird is to dig a hole under the ground to the deer." He dug into the ground and went up to the deer and tied himself tightly under the deer. He noticed that Red Bird was coming his way.

Old Black Bear stayed there, and other birds flew around above. They said, "This looks like a trap, so we better stay here until Red Bird comes." They sat in the trees and waited for Red Bird to come. After a while Red Bird came, and the others said, "This deer looks fat, and we wanted you to get your share. We have waited for you to get yours first."

Then Red Bird said to the other birds, "I am afraid, for I know that that Old Black Bear is the real trapper and never misses anything; he has great power for tying things up. Look around and see if there are any tracks."

"We have looked around carefully, and there are no tracks. That deer must have run a long ways before falling."

Red Bird said, "If you could catch hold of that deer and move it to the side, I would take my share. I will pick one of you to move it to one side. I will select the baldheaded eagle to move it to the side, for you are strong."

The baldheaded eagle went to the deer and tried to lift it but could not

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[7] Black Bear would be taking the poor boy as his son.

●773 move it, only pulling out the hair. He said, "I can't lift it; I do not think there is anything under the deer."

539 Then Red Bird slowly flew down toward the deer, circling, and then went down to the deer. Old Black Bear seized him and said to the bird, "You are not the one who is holy; I am the holy man and have much more power than you have. I am going to get rid of you."

The bird cried, "Save my life; if you get rid of me, there will be no birds."

The Bear said, "You have made the people suffer, so I am going to kill you and get rid of you."

He pulled all the feathers out of the bird, saying, "I do not want to see any red birds like you, and I do not want you to treat people again as you did in the past. If you treat the people like you have in the past, I am going to get rid of you by cutting your head off." He turned the red bird loose, but after that they did not see any red birds like this one again.

About this time Brown Old Man in the village knew what was happening to his father, Red Bird, and he was sad. After they caught his father and pulled all the feathers out, Brown Old Man did not have his former strength. Still he had one holy song.

At the village they were playing the pole-and-stone game, and one fellow would win the game all the time. His medicine was the Snake. He was playing the game with another who had a father who was a chief. The boy always bet the things that belonged to his father. He would put in the lodge or all the things in the lodge. He even bet his parents' bedding. After a while they were sleeping in hay for bedding and did not have much left.

At this time the man said to his son, "You ought to see that we do not have much left and that we are very uncomfortable. What you should do now is call in Brown Old Man and give him a little roasted corn and moccasins. Tell him that you will give him your wife for a daughter-in-law. Do this after sundown."

The young man secured roast corn, fat, and moccasins. He went to Brown Old Man's lodge and invited him over. He said to Brown Old Man. "I was playing a game with the young man who has the Snake Medicine and he has beaten me. We do not have very much left. I know that you are a holy man, and I want you to help me. I will give you these things and, if I ever marry, I will have my wife for your daughter-in-law."

The old man said, "It is pretty hard to win a game from him. That stick he plays with is a snake too. That is why he wins the game all the time. You will never win the game so long as he has that snake for a stick. You can't tell the difference, but it is a snake just the same even though you cannot recognize it. I heard some stories about that snake; I am a bird and snakes are my food; that is the reason why that fellow is against me all the time. If you do not win the game, I will not take your wife as my daughter-in-law. If you win, I will call her that. You go out and see what you can find over there where Snake Man is; you will see much earth and various things scattered around. That is not real earth but eagle tails and other things he has won. You take some of them."

The young man went and came back. He brought back a robe full of articles, and he put them in the lodge on the ground but there was nothing visible except the dirt floor.

Brown Old Man sent him out a third time, a little after midnight saying, "Do not let him see you. There will be two sticks standing there. Go slowly and get those sticks for me. The first thing in the morning call to him, 'Let us play the game again.' When he comes, tell him that you want to use a bigger stick. If he says it is all right and then takes the smaller stick, it will mean that he is going to lose his mind. This earth you piled here, I will change like before into many valuable things that he has won from your father."

Brown Old Man stood up and took hold of the largest stick and said, "I am going to sing a holy song." He bent the stick, rubbing it, and started it moving like a snake. When he had finished singing, it had changed into a real stick with no sign of a snake. He threw the stick onto the ground. He threw it from one place to another like a bird throws a snake and said, "There is no snake left to it." He took the smaller stick and bent it, and it seemed like a snake too. Then he sang his holy song and threw it onto the ground several times, and it was a stick again.

He said, "When you are ready to play the game, put one of these bird's claws on each end of the stick. If there are any snakes, these claws will catch them. When you want to start the game, take the largest stick and say that you are going to say your prayer, and he will say that you are not a real medicine man. Say that you always pray before the game and then take some dirt and rub it on the stick. Be sure that you have a hoop of your own. After a while he will let you use it and that, too, is a sign that he will lose his mind. Play this game with him for four days, and by that time he will be about exhausted, with water coming out of his mouth."

Brown Old Man went to the earth pile and sang his holy song, saying, "Pick what you want for your bidding from this pile," and the earth changed to eagle tails.

When he changed the earth there were four eagle tails. "The Snake Man will say, 'Where did you get those eagle tails?' and you say, 'I have been around begging from my friends.' Then he will not be afraid and put his four tails on, too. When you play the game, go as fast as you can. While you are running remember the holy song I taught you and sing it in your mind. Have some young men run with you when you play the game. On the last day I may be there, for I know that that snake hates me."

After he finished talking, he smoked the two sticks and told the young man to take them back and put them where they belonged, for Snake Man, who was sleeping, would not hear him. Brown Old Man said, "The first thing in the morning, go to the river and take a bath. Put mud on your head. I will be praying to the birds all the time, and you will not get exhausted but light while you run. Call the first thing in the morning that you are ready to play, and he will ask why you don't use white clay instead of that dirt, and you say, 'I am in such a hurry that I am going to use this kind of paint.' "

Snake Man came and asked where he got the tails, and he replied that they were given him by different people who scolded him because he was using up all his father's things. He sent for his eagle tails to bet against the young man. The young man said to Snake Man, "I want a bigger stick this time, for you are always using your small ones. I don't know how to win the game anyhow and you will win."

The other one agreed to use the larger stick. Brown Old Man had said that he would go easy with Snake Man at first. There were many young fellows around, and he begged some of them to follow him while he ran even though he couldn't win the game. They ran, letting the loop go first. Snake Man threw his stick first and then the other threw. The stick went where it should go, so

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he won the first game and had two sticks. They threw the sticks out again. Before the stick stopped, he saw that he was nearer and then he had four of the sticks. After a while the young man won the eagle tails, so he had eight tails. He thought he would fool the opponent by saying, "Now that I have the eight tails I will be able to play all the longer before you win them back from me as you will eventually."

Snake Man sent for eight more eagle tails, and they began to run again. Each time they threw, the young man would hit the right place; then he began to lag so the other would not be suspicious, until late in the evening when he won the game outright. Then he had sixteen eagle tails.

Snake Man said, "I am tired now so we will stop." The other said, "When I was losing, you always wanted to go until sundown," but Snake Man thought that he would stop so he could fix his sticks.

The young man said to his helpers, "I will pay you after I have finished the game."

Next day they had another game and Snake Man brought out all the eagle tails left and said, "If you win all the tails, I suppose I can put in robes and other things?" The young man agreed to do so. The third day he won the game again and had robes and everything that Snake Man had.

The third night, Brown Old Man came and said, "Tomorrow will be your last day for the game. After he has lost everything, he will bet his wife, for she is his real power, so you must do your best to win her."

The boy's father was at the lodge when they brought in all the things that the father had lost before. On the last day Snake Man did not have very much property to bet, bringing only pots, bedding, spoons, and such things as he could get hold of. The young man put up eagle tails against them. The game went on, and Snake Man said, "Now I have nothing left. I will bet my earth lodge." When he lost that, Snake Man said, "I will bet my wife now. That is all that I have left."

Brown Old Man had said formerly, "During the last game when he bets his wife, I will be sitting ahead of you, for if you do not win right away, she may throw you off in your throw. She has great power."

When the other people saw that he was winning the game back, they would run beside him and make much noise in victory. By that time Snake Man was nearly exhausted with water running from his mouth. When the last game was played, they began to run with Brown Old Man in the lead. When Snake Man threw his stick, he saw the old man and thought that he would throw the stick past Brown Old Man. After the game was over Snake Man said, "Brown Old Man, I think you were the one who did this, making me throw my stick in the wrong direction."

The young man said to the people, "You may carry all the things over to the lodge I have won and put them inside. I know that Snake Man once won all these valuables from you, and I am going to return them to you again."

He called Snake Man's wife in and said, "You belong to me, but I do not think I will keep you. I will give you some clothing to put on and you can go anywhere you please."

She dressed and went out. When he had everything collected that he had won from Snake Man, he called in his "father," Brown Old Man. Snake Man came in with nothing on but a breechcloth. The young man inquired what he had come for, to smoke or what? Snake Man said, "I went down to the river to take a bath, and I vomited out only earth."

The other said, "I had that happen, too, when you were winning, so I don't think it is anything serious. If you find anything more to bet on, I am ready. I always give a person a chance to get back what he lost." 773 539

After a while Snake Man stepped out. Late that night Brown Old Man came and ate with the young man, and they were happy. He told Brown Old Man what Snake Man had said and then Brown Old Man laughed.

He said, "I made one mistake here; at the time you fellows ran I was angry, and I thought that every time Snake Man breathed the dirt would go into his mouth. That is why he threw all that dirt up. That was a mistake, for I am afraid that he will not have a long life."

While the gambling was going on, the young man had married. He told his wife to go out and take a bath, for he had promised Brown Old Man that if he won the game and had a wife he should take her as a daughter-in-law. Brown Old Man had said, "I will sleep beside her and take her as my daughter-in-law, but I will not touch her. What you have done, giving her to me for my daughter-in-law, makes me happy." They slept together until the next day. The young man and his "father," Brown Old Man, ate together and were happy. Brown Old Man said to his "son," "I sang a holy song while you were playing the game, and it is yours. In the future when you go out to attack your enemy, use that song, and you will win that game too."

Meanwhile Snake Man was vomiting up the dirt; it was not long after that until he died.

Brown Old Man died in that village, but, when they tell the story, the old people do not say whether he went back to the birds or not, but it seems from the earlier part of the story that he must have.

BEARS ARM'S NARRATIVE OF EAGLE-TRAPPING. I

The people were living out on the Reservation by this time [1888]. I was about twenty-four years old then. By that time we had wagons so we went with teams. We went across from Independence and set out west toward Heart Singer Butte, near which we camped that night. The next time we moved, we camped at Eagle Nest Butte. Bad Coat had his wife, True Woman (Water-buster clan); Iron Eyes had his wife, Brown Chest (AwaxEnawita clan); Charging had his wife, Robe (Knife clan); Little Crow had his wife, Otter (Water-buster clan); Packs Wolf had his wife, Comes Along Pink (AwaxEnawita clan); Spotted Weasel had his wife, Cedar (AwaxEnawita clan); Raven Knows Nothing had his wife, Bear Woman (Knife clan); Sitting Owl had his wife, Pink Blossom (AwaxEnawita clan); Sitting Owl had an adopted son along called Standing Bull. 223

The next time we camped just the other side of where the White Lodge stands, where there are large springs. The next day we came opposite Buffalo Manure Butte, called Lone Butte today, and camped on the banks of the Little Missouri River. We crossed the Little Missouri there and followed Buffalo Manure Creek, called Crosby Creek today, and crossed the divide to the west and camped. The camp was on the Little Missouri River in the timber.

We set to work, for we had wagons then, cutting the timbers and posts. They were mostly ash, and we hauled them on the wagons. We set up the four posts with the rails at the top and then carried the timbers around the sides of the place where the lodge was to stand. All the men worked on this, and we finally finished it. It took us one day to cut the timbers while others were scraping the ground down, taking the roots out. The next day we commenced 223 346 leaned against them. We were not allowed to shoot or throw stones at any 346 kind of birds. Nor were we allowed to sing other than the songs that went with 784 the trapping. The leader tied pieces of calico to ash trees as offering to the Holy Women and told the new members that the region back of the lodge or 223 west was holy ground as the birds came from that direction.

Then we did the "Tied" ceremony, meaning marking the corners of the 223 new pits so that they were square and deep enough to be over one's head when sitting up in them. On the side wall a hole was dug like a small shelf and a 796 stone was put in it. The stone is called Baby Stone, for the eagles were considered sacred. The stone was used as a shield, and, when one catches an eagle and wishes to kill it in the pit, instead of using the words "kill it" we said "put it to sleep" and took the stone down and placed it between the eagles wings, took the cord tied around its neck, and pulled the cord back, and that way broke the neck.

The bears were the first ones to trap eagles; there are two different stories about eagle-trapping. The leader goes in and blesses the lodge and prays to the spirits. When they first learned of eagle-trapping, the bear was doing this. He had a cord and spread it out, opening it, and said, "All are caught." It [773] was because the bears prayed that prayers had to be offered to the spirits to whom the bears prayed.

There must have been a great difference in the ceremonies once, since the stone is called "Tied" and also "Sleep Stone."

When our leader saw that all was ready, he said, "We must go in." He named Little Bull to be the Crack Shot and go in first; then he named Holding Eagle to sit next to the Crack Shot; then Wolfs Eyes went in and took his place at the head of the lodge; then the helper, Big Walk, went in. Whatever the leader does in singing and praying, the man sitting next to him is expected to give him assistance. The leader and his helper are the ones to offer prayers and do the singing, while the Crack Shot and the man next to him work together too. Their duty is to torture the men. Then the other men came in on both sides and took their places. Then there were two waiters selected by the leader. They were not named, nor is anyone named until the lodge is completed and ready to move in.

No excuses are allowed. When the leader says, "I select you as a waiter," one has no right to refuse. After this, we went in and took our places. The leader said, "Waiter, burn some incense," and, while the waiter burned it, the leader took his sacred articles out and held them in the smoke. He held up the cord, and while he was singing the song to the snares he made a motion as of throwing the loop to catch something. He did that three times, and the fourth time the Crack Shot jumped up and took the snare, saying, "Leader, you have snared everything; you have roped everything north, south, west, and east," meaning that then he had everything in the world caught in his snare.

There are many songs[12] to be sung by the leader and his helper. After he sings these songs, there is a special song for the waiter, who gets up and dances with the cord, making the sign of throwing the loop to catch something. Then, one of the men who is not married would say, "Waiter, I feel someone at my back."

Then the waiter looked and said, "There is a very handsome woman back which were pushed in as they burnt. This was done because the First Man told them they must never have a big fire after the day's cooking was done and showed them how it should be built. It recalls the sacred fire of the Muskogi and other tribes of the lower Mississippi. They declared that many of the every day customs were taught them thus and consequently they always did them a certain way,—thus Ochkih-Hedde taught them to tattoo themselves, and their first chief taught them to kill buffalo and to make shields. 372 [773]

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[12] See Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 80 [1923]), pp. 69–80.

The Mandans practiced penances and sacrifices, especially self-torture which they carried to great extremes. Their medicine or personal guardian spirit was acquired by three or four days fasting and self injury, after which the medicine, often an animal, appeared to the candidate in a dream. This ceremony was also taught to them by Ochkih-Hedde. No expedition or enterprise was undertaken without a liberal sacrifice to some supernatural being, either by offering valuable goods or by physical self-torture. Finger joints were frequently cut off as an offering to the gods and fasting was common as a propitiation. Often a day or more would be spent near one of the medicine scaffolds in groaning, praying and weeping. Lewis and Clarke relate that finger joints were also cut off as a sign of mourning, which Maximilian denies, and Catlin tells how such a sacrifice was a part of the catalogue of tortures in the great Okeepa dance. The custom of consecrating personal property is found here as among the neighboring tribes. A man could make his gun, his horse, his pipe and other similar articles medicine by going through certain ceremonies, most important of which was the giving of a feast. The feast[1] was announced by a public crier, a certain number of guests were invited, the invitations being originally little rods and later playing cards. The drum and rattle made the round of the company. Then the article was consecrated; if a gun, it was rubbed with meal several times, with soup, and lastly with fat, after which the feast took place. 782 304 776 785 [765] 782 574

There were many shrines and sacred articles among the Mandans, but judging from the accounts, the sacred bundle or 778

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[1] Maximilian: p. 463.

778 which Lewis and Clarke, Henry, Catlin, and Maximilian all give
accounts. The Mandans told Lewis and Clarke that this rock,
181 which was at three days march to the southwest, informed them
of every thing to happen during the year and that they visited
it every spring and sometimes in the summers.[1] The description
which Maximilian gives of this rock seems worth repetition:
"It is situated at two or three days from the village on the
edge of the Cannonball River from which it is about one hundred
paces. They say it is on the summit of a rather high
hill, the top of which is level. It is marked by the footprints
of men and other animals, dogs and travois. It is a
sort of oracle. They offer it all sorts of valuable articles —
knives, pipes, cloth. . . . When going to war they pass
near and consult the stone. They approach it, weep, groan,
smoke, and retire to a distance where they pass the night. Next
day they take down on parchment what the stone shows. This
painted parchment is carried to the village where the old men
interpret it. Undoubtedly new figures are seen on the stone
from time to time. Not far from this place was the ark where
part of the nation was saved." The Minnetarees also had one
of these medicine stones which was consulted in practically
the same way. One more of their natural sacred objects deserves
778 mention; this was a lake some distance from their villages
182 where a great serpent, formerly a Mandan warrior, was said to
reside. This serpent was a good genius and offerings of all
sorts were thrown into the lake to procure his aid.

791 The shaman although mentioned occasionally is not described,
nor are his powers well defined by any of the authorities.
Maximilian remarked that there were shamans who
gathered herbs and pretended to cure diseases and others who
did tricks and conducted preparations for the ceremonies.

MYTHOLOGY:—Practically all material on Mandan mythology
773 comes from Maximilian who wrote down a large number of
539 stories directly as they were told to him by a Mandan chief,
Dipeuch. Catlin and Lewis and Clarke reinforce these with a
few details. It is found by analysis of the myths given by
Maximilian that two distinct, parallel, mythological stories of

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[1] Lewis and Clarke: Feb. 21, 1805.

the origin of the people existed, both were told by the same man, each of these accounts being made up of a number of separate myths. Perhaps a short synopsis of these two cycles will best show the condition of the mythology and the relationship with that of other nations. According to one of these, the Lord of Life created the First Man, who in turn created the earth. It was made of mud brought up from the bottom of the sea by a duck. The First Man walked about on it, meeting some animals and then finally the Lord of Life; a dispute arose between the two as to which should be called father, and they sat down, agreeing that the first one to rise should be the son. Many years they sat and when the Lord of Life was only a pile of whitened bones, the First Man arose. At once the Lord of Life jumped up and was acknowledged as father. The two of them went about together, the Lord of Life said the earth must be remade and called the buffalo, who was commanded to fetch grass and wood. Then the two gods each took half the land to shape—they were at the mouth of the Heart River and the Lord of Life took the south side of the Missouri, the First Man took the north. The Lord of Life made hills and coulées, but First Man made his section flat and wooded so people could not live there. Then each made himself a wooden pipe, the Lord of Life making his of ash wood inlaid with stone, the First Man making his of soft wood. They placed the two together and the Lord of Life said, "This will be the center, the heart of the world." They walked along and met a buffalo from whom they got tobacco. Then they made men, but limited their life to one hundred years lest the world be over-populated, and these men were taught by the Lord of Life to use buffalo. After this the Lord of Life and the First Man killed all the old wolves and taught the young ones not to eat men, the skins of the old ones floating down the river, turned into white men. A little later the First Man saw a girl ineffectually attempting to bring ashore a dead buffalo cow, he supernaturally guided it to her and she ate some of the flesh and in consequence became pregnant. A boy was born to her who became the first chief. This chief made a canoe which understood him when he spoke to it. In it he sent some men down to a white nation

● 773 539 to get shells and beads. The men were killed, so finally he went himself and came back safely. Then the First Man went down with another party and all were killed but he. He saved himself by strategy. The white men became angry because they could not kill him and they made the waters rise so that the whole earth was submerged. Related to this is a statement by a Mandan to Catlin that the earth was a huge turtle, the white men stuck a knife through its shell and it sank so the water flooded its back. The First Man made them build a tower on a height on the lower bank of the Heart River and the whole nation was saved there. Soon after the flood, the First Man went away to the west and said he would come back when they needed him. One day they wanted him and could not discover how to reach him, till at last a man said that thought would do it. He sat down and thought and cried, "I think, I have thought, I return," and rose bathed in sweat, and the First Man came, and helped them. Just after this the Lord of Life turned into a goose and being hurt fell into a Mandan village where he escaped plucking by cursing the women. Thence he flew to the Hidatsa village, where he clawed and beat a woman who said she would have no one but the Lord of Life for her husband. The next day, however, he returned to the sun and caused her to ascend to him by means of a rope which he let down, the story continuing the Siouan myth of the boy and the mother coming down a sinew cord to the earth again.

The second cycle of stories does not begin with a creation myth, but merely with a brief account of the earliest existence. The Mandans said that there were four stories under the earth and four stories above; before the flood they lived in a village under the earth near a lake, and a grape-vine grew down through, letting the light into the underworld. They wanted to come up and sent the mouse, badger, a strange, mythical animal and a deer to dig out a hole. Then they climbed out by the grapevine till half were on earth and a very corpulent woman broke the vine. A flood came when they were first coming out and the first tribe (Tattooed Faces) perished almost wholly. All this happened near a lake to the east. If they are good the Mandans go back to this old village under ground when they die.

They now found themselves on the surface of the earth. The people were led by a chief and they kept walking till they reached the Missouri at the mouth of the White River. They ascended it to the Moreau, here they found enemies in the Cheyenne, and they went to war and killed and scalped for the first time. The great chief who led them out of the earth together with his sister and brother taught them to make shields, and then he divided them into bands and led them against the Cheyenne. After a long struggle he performed a miracle by which the enemy were nearly all slain. Then the Mandans moved up to the Heart River. Here one day, four Hidatsa came to them for a time and on leaving promised to return in four days. Four years later they returned with a numerous band. The Hidatsa crossed the river and built villages, and the Mandans taught them to raise corn. Then after a few years they moved up to the Knife River where they settled. This was during the period at which the Mandans lived in a village on the Heart River. 773 539

Besides these two myth cycles there are also a number of tales as yet unconnected with either group. First among these should be considered the tales about the Old Woman Who Never Dies. The Old Woman Who Never Dies owns a very large plantation in the south where her two deer and many blackbirds guard her crops, and the mouse and mole help work the soil. The water birds she sends north as her representatives in the spring, and at the same time goes north to visit the Old Man Who Never Dies, but she stays with him only a short time. She is the goddess of corn, and the ceremonies in her honor are to bring good crops. Formerly she lived on the Little Missouri where the Indians visited her. She gave the Hidatsa once a little corn in a dish and it fed twelve men. Finally she went south to live.

The story of the great serpent forms an important tale for comparative purposes. The great serpent was supposed to have been one of two Mandan braves who crawled through a hole in the bluff and came out in a land of giants. On returning, the two killed a monstrous snake of which one of them ate. He himself soon turned into a great snake and became a sort of minor deity for the people.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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As has been said there are in the Mandan myths two distinct cycles of tales; there seems to be two sources for the detached stories as well. The first cycle seems to be along the lines of the Siouan and Algonquin stories. The creation myth is much like that of the Chippewa: the naming of the animals, the story of the Sun Boy, and the tale of reaching the First Man by thought, seem to be Siouan in their origin for we find them most important in that stock. The creation myth exists likewise among the Crows, and it is told by the Arikara,—the latter, however, have a more popular creation tale. The Mandan myth is not found among the Skidi Pawnee. The story of the making of the Heart River region is naturally found among the Arikara as are some tales about Lucky Man and the Wolf who seem to correspond to the Lord of Life and the First Man, but none of these characters are found among the Skidi tales where Tirawa, the Creator, has no companion in his work. The tale of the struggle between the Lord of Life and the First Man as to which should be father is distinguishable in the Arikara, but not in the Skidi. The tale of the Sun Boy is, however, found in the Pawnee, but is known also in practically every plains tribe. The story of the child born to the girl from eating cow fat, is in the Crow but not in the Arikara or Skidi. In general so far as comparable material is at hand these tales do not appear to be of Caddo origin, and are in most cases connected with the tales of some other Siouan tribe.

As to the other cycle of tales there is little in the Siouan stories with which it may be compared. The story of an underground origin is developed characteristically in the southwest,—it appears in numerous forms among the Arikara and with even more detail among the Skidi. The first chief in the Mandan migration, the man who led them from underground, is very closely allied with the Corn Mother leader of the Arikara, and the preservation of his skull in a sacred bundle is again suggestive of the southern plains.

The Corn Mother tale seems most clearly related to Caddoan. The tale of the Great Serpent as well as that of the Sun Boy is spread over the whole plains region,—the Crow, the Arikara, the Pawnee, and the Dakota all possess more or less close versions of this story. None of the Caddoan Poor Boy stories have been found in the Mandan, but this may be due to the limited extent of Maximilian's collection. It can only be said that the Mandan myths so far as known seem to be about an equal mixture of north and south plains types. 773 171

CEREMONIALS: — The Mandan dance system seems to have been rather complicated, and in it are found again the two conflicting influences. In one case the origin of the dances is said to have been due to Ochkih-Hedde, the evil spirit. Again the First Chief who led them out of the ground is said to have arranged all their dances, and the Okeepa, according to Catlin, was instituted by the First Man. There were two sorts of dances; first those in which it appears that anyone could take part, and secondly those belonging to the different societies previously referred to.*1 Of the first kind there were four principal ones, and of these the Buffalo dance and the Scalp dance, although not the most important, were most frequently danced and were practically identical with the same dances of other plains tribes; the Scalp dance was performed by those related to persons with newly acquired coups. The Buffalo dances were of two types. One was for the purpose of getting the good will of influential men and is described by Henry and Catlin. This dance had several obscene features. The other Buffalo dance was danced by the men in relays wearing a buffalo head and its purpose was to bring the buffalo in time of need. 535 796

The other two dances deserve more particular mention. Catlin says of all these dances,[1] "Every dance has its peculiar step and song." The songs were understood only by the medicine men and required much application and study. Candidates paid to learn them. This applies particularly to the Okeepa which is the best-known dance of the Mandans. No description is necessary as Catlin has given two very full ones and Maximilian has also given a good account of it. The Okeepa was performed once a year as a rule and nearly every inhabitant of the village had some part to play in it. It lasted four days, and in all the dances, dance groups and ceremonial

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[1] Op. cit., vol. 1, p. 126.

*1 [Cf. pp. 129-561, cat. 116 — Analyst].

575 Some additional information on this society was furnished by Wounded-face, Water-chief, and Little-crow. Of these, Wounded-face and Water-chief belonged to the same group as Black-chest, while Little-crow was a member of the group from which the other three informants purchased their membership. Black-chest sets his present age at 62, while Little-crow is supposed to be 74. At the time they purchased their membership, the age of Little-crow, Wounded-face and Water-chief was about 14, 20, and 16 respectively.

575 •773 Wounded-face regards Good-fur-robe, a mythical hero, as the founder of the society. Good-fur-robe pulled out two sunflower stalks from the ground and presented them to two young men. He instructed them to plant these stalks in the ground during an encounter with the enemy and not to retreat from the spot. The sunflower and the corn, this informant added, were essentially one. A similar account was furnished by Packs-wolf, who further stated that at a later time lances were substituted for the stalks. Though Maximilian does not mention a Mandan Kit-Fox society, the following tradition recorded by him as to the origin of the other Mandan organizations is very suggestive in view of the statements obtained from my own informants. The chief who first ascended to the earth from the subterranean regions formerly inhabited by the Mandan was named Village-smoke, but assumed the name of Good-fur-robe ("die Robe oder das Fell mit schönem Haare, la robe à beau poil") after reaching the upper world. He founded the societies, beginning with the Dogs. For the Soldiers he made two hooked-sticks wrapped with otterskin and two other sticks trimmed with raven feathers. The hooked sticks represented sunflowers; the other sticks, the corn plant. These emblems were to be planted into the ground in fighting an enemy and were never to be abandoned.[1]

575 432 Water-chief mentions the interesting point that his group bought the Kit-Fox organization at the suggestion of the owners. These came to the younger men and said, "We wish to give you this Fox society and make you our sons." It is quite clear from the other accounts that this fact did not affect the initial mode of procedure. A pipe was put before the fathers and [576] had to be accepted and smoked by one of their number in the same way as when Little-crow's group decided to buy the membership on their own initiative. In both cases the fathers seem to have been able to dictate the terms of purchase: at the time when Black-chest and Water-chief became Kit-Foxes, a ten nights' entertainment was demanded, while in Little-crow's day the feasting of the sellers lasted twelve nights.

Like Black-chest, Wounded-face selected a clan father, Two-crows, for

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[1] Maximilian, II. 162.

[For bibliography, see Category 113-- Analyst]

575 each tipped with a thick white plume, adorned the head. One member
292 carried a beautiful fan of white feathers, and wore on the head a complete
535 swan's tail, each feather of which was decorated with dyed horsehair. The
[293] members wrapped themselves completely in their robes, and carried bow-lances trimmed with feathers, colored cloth, glass beads, and the like; most of them had fox skins attached to their heels. Several men beat a drum, while the rest formed a circle and imitated the sound of buffalo bulls. After they had danced for a while, the spectators threw a quantity of tobacco down for them, whereupon they departed for the village in the woods, taking off their wigs on the way. In another place, the Prince mentions rattles as well as drums, and states that the bow-lances were also decorated with bear guts.[1]

BLACK-TAIL DEER SOCIETY.

575 All the old men above fif[illegible]ere, according to Maximilian, members of
561 the Black-Tail Deer organization (cu'psi ŏ'xat'e). Two female attendants
301 cooked and served fresh water during a dance. All of the men wore a
554 wreath of grizzly claws round the head, and displayed their honor marks in the form of feather head ornaments, braids of hair on arms and legs, scalps, painting, etc.

Wounded-face says that the organization originated on the Bad Creek,
575 near the Heart River. One day two young men with arrows stayed on a
773 high wooded hill by the Creek. They dug a deep pit, put sticks across, and covered them with grass. They wanted to snare some animals. One morning one of the men went towards the trap. As he drew close, he heard signs of a trapped animal. He was glad, looked inside, and saw that he had caught a large and very fat black-tail deer. He fitted an arrow to his bow, but the deer said, "Don't shoot me." "Why not?" "You are my son, you must not shoot me. Make a path for me to get out." The young man obeyed, and the buck got out. Then he said, "You are a young man, and I know what you desire: honor marks. I have the power to give them to you, but you have many other fathers, who will instruct you later." He stretched his legs, jumped away, and went some distance. Then he stretched his legs again, and sang a song. When his song was ended, he went towards a wooded hill. The young man knew there was a house there. It belonged to the Deer, and the door closed with a thud. The house was the Black-Tail lodge.

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[1] Maximilian, II, 145f., 281f.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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The young man returned to the village and told the people that he had caught and liberated a deer, but he did not tell them anything else. He waited for the good wishes of the Deer to come true. His father, whom he told about it, bade him fast. Accordingly, he went into the Deer's wood, fasting and crying for two nights. A boy came to him and said, "They are calling you." This boy led him into an earth-lodge, where the young man beheld many men sitting around. In the center were two girls, each carrying a pipe pointed towards the door. The Deer sat by the door of his lodge, and tobacco was heaped up before him. The stranger was asked to sit near his host, who thus addressed him: "Now, my son, I told you that you had a great many fathers. They wish to talk to you now." Then each old man said in turn, "My son, look at me, and see what honor marks I have on my clothes. These marks are yours." When he at last came to the Deer himself, he was addressed thus: "You see what honors we have given you. I will add one thing more. If you get wounded, no matter where, you shall not die from your wounds. You will get all the honors given by your fathers." Then the Deer asked the others, how long their son was to live. They allowed the girls to decide. The girls discussed the matter, and one of them said, "We want him to be very old and to die from old age in his sleep." All the men assented. The host then said, "My son, you see this society, but you must not found it immediately, wait until you are very old." The girls wore eagle plumes above the ears. All the men began to sing, and the young man learned every one of their songs. Finally, the Deer said, "When you wish to fight, paint your body yellow, put black on both arms as far as the elbow and also from the knees to the feet. Here [giving him his own black-tail necklace] is your necklace. If enemies get close, they will miss you, for your fathers were never wounded by arrows."

The young man returned to the village, and became a great warrior. When very old, he sent for men distinguished for martial deeds. They came, and he explained his vision to them. He told them he wished to found the society; all were willing to join, and learned the songs. Then he said, "We will get two girls loved by their fathers." They selected two such girls, and let them sit in the center, carrying pipes and wearing plumes on their heads.

When very young, Wounded-face saw a very old woman who had been one of the Black-Tail Deer girls.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913

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Once the Mandan lived underground. A small mouse went about and discovered a little hole in the ground, through which he crawled up and thus came to see the surface of the earth. He liked the light and the grass. He returned, and told his people about it. They said to Fox, "You are small enough to get up through the hole." So Fox went up. He got to the ground, looked about, and found everything good there. He liked it, and told the three chiefs[1] and their sister. The hole was still too small, so the Elk was called. "You have wide horns, make a little passage for us to get through." The Elk did as he was bidden, got above ground, and enjoyed the sight. He returned, and told them how good the country above was. Then the youngest of the three brothers went up through the opening, and found plenty of buffalo and elk. He hunted them, killed a buffalo and took the sinew and paunch, which he gave to his brothers on his return. They were very glad to get sinew, for underground they had been obliged to use sunflower threads for cordage. All the people wished to go above ground. They went to the hole, and found a vine passing from their country to the earth. The chiefs climbed up first on the vine. They found an abundance of game, and camped near the hole. The people went up, one after another, until a pregnant woman tried to climb up and broke the vine. It was impossible to readjust the vine, so those behind the woman were obliged to remain below. The chiefs' sister had forgotten to take along her elk robe, and called down for it to her mother, who was still underground at the time when the vine broke. But the woman answered, "You cannot get it now; however, you will find one just like it above. When you die, you will come back, and then you will be able to get your elk robe again." The girl, accordingly, got a new elk robe above ground just like the one left behind. It was tanned soft, without the hair on, and painted black on one side; fleshed bluebirds were attached to it. This robe was passed from heir to heir until the time of the Ft. Berthold settlement, where Moves-slowly, a Corn-singer, kept it by his shrine.

The Mandan ascended the River and built their villages. They came to a big clay hill named Bare-Hill, where no grass grew. Near this hill they built one village. A young man went up the hill in order to get a vision. On a high hill, on the opposite bank of the Missouri, he saw many women dancing. Every time he went up the hill he saw the same vision, but each time the women got closer. The fourth time they came closer still, they came across the Missouri. When they approached the man, he saw how they were dressed. They were all mysterious beings. At the same time, some women just like them rose from the Bare-Hill itself, and began to dance. They wore crowns of live snakes,[2] whose necks were striped with different colors. Their heads were on the left side of the dancers, the tails on the right. The visionary was also able to hear the mysterious women's songs. In accordance with this vision he started the River Women society. In the place of the snake crowns, he took blue-grass about three feet long and from a triple braid of this material he made the head band emblematic of the organization (Fig. 15). Into the left side of the head band he stuck in obliquely the tail feather of an eagle. The ends of the crown were tied in the middle of the forehead. Kinumakci came to the visionary, and was

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[1] The skulls of these three chiefs, according to Hides-and-eats, were still kept by Poor-wolf at the time of my visit. Cf. Maximilian (II, 161): "Noch gegenwärtig haben die Mandans in ihrer Medicine-Tasche oder Beutel 3 heilige Schädel auf, von welchen der eine der des genannten Chefs und die anderen die dessen Bruders und Schwester seyn sollen."

[2] Garter-snakes, according to one informant; according to another, brown snakes about 3 feet long, which the Indians call "grass-eaters."

[825]

575 773 539 delighted. He said, "I like this society. I wish to add something to your feather." Then he broke off some (unidentified) grass, and tied it to the feather. In the dance these feathers were meant to shake. Kínumakci said, "I will give you one of my songs." And he gave the man a song quite different from other songs. When Kínumakci had done singing, the visionary told the women whom he had organised to take their head bands, untie them, smooth them out, and put them down on the ground. The women obeyed, and the head bands turned into snakes and crawled away. From that time on the society was kept up.

[292]

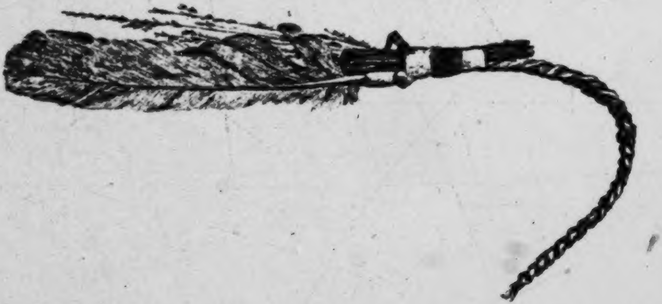

Fig. 15 (50.1–4329). River Society Head Ornament. Length, 61 cm.

575 773 301 Two-chiefs adds to the account as just given that several other beings made contributions to the dance regalia. The eagle feathers were distributed among the original dancers by the Eagle. The Bear gave them his claws to be strung for a necklace. The Mink allowed them to use his skin and claws: the two leaders and the two rear officers were to wear mink-claw necklaces, while the four middle officers were to wear a minkskin necklace, to which were attached bluish shells.[1] The organizer of the society selected four male singers and picked out for membership a number of women ranging in age from twenty to thirty. Calf-woman substitutes the mythical character I'tsi'kawa'herec[2] for Ki'numakci, and the Otter for the Mink.

575 432 One day Hides-and-eats was called by her friends to attend a meeting. This was shortly after the time of the smallpox. Very few of the River women had survived the epidemic; all of them had been very old women, about Hides-and-eats' present age. The young women called the survivors, heaped up property before them, and expressed their desire to purchase the [608] society. The older group consented to sell. In this instance the sellers for some obscure reason were not considered the purchasers' mothers. Hides-and-eats and her comrades remained in this society for ten years. Then

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[1] Two-chiefs gives twice the number of officers fixed by Hides-and-eats.
[2] This is probably the Hidatsa equivalent for Ki'numakci.

6; Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Fig. 15. As soon as the ice in the rivers breaks up, they run to the banks and throw this interlaced hoop into the water. In the summer time the Mandans and Manitaries often amuse themselves with races in the prairie, for which they have the best opportunity in the vicinity of their villages; twenty young men, or more, often run at once, and on these occasions there is always high betting. Some of them are very swift runners, and can hold out a long time. 526

The Mandans and Manitaries are extremely superstitious, and all their important actions are guided by such motives. They have most strange ideas of surrounding nature, believe in a multitude of different beings in the heavenly bodies; offer sacrifices to them; invoke their assistance on every occasion; howl, lament, fast, inflict on themselves cruel acts of penance, to propitiate these spirits; and, above all, lay very great stress upon dreams. Some of their traditions have a resemblance to the revelations of the Bible; for instance, Noah's Ark and the Deluge, the history of Samson, &c. The question here arises whether these particulars have not been gradually introduced among them, from their intercourse with Christians, and this seems highly probable. If they have not yet embraced the Christian religion, it would, however, appear that they have adopted some portions which strike them as being either remarkable or interesting.* The belief in a future life, or a better state of things after death, exists among all the American nations; this is confirmed by D'Orbigny (Voyages, tom. iii. p. 90), who justly blames Azara for denying all religious ideas to the people of Paraguay. In order to obtain correct information respecting all their traditions and ideas, we persuaded Dipauch† to enliven our long winter evenings by his narratives, which he readily agreed to do. He spoke with much seriousness and gravity, and I had a most excellent interpreter in Mr. Kipp. I give these narratives, which are often extremely silly, as they were written down from his communications, though I must beg my reader's patience and indulgence. It was not possible to curtail them or to choose only the more interesting parts, since all their traditions and legends have a certain connexion, and really possess some influence on the actual mode of life of this people. 771 771 124

According to Dipauch, these Indians believe in several superior beings, of whom the lord of life, Ohmahank-Numakshi, is the first, the most exalted and the most powerful; who created the earth, man, and every existing object.‡ They believe that he has a tail, and appears sometimes 776 773

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* This conjecture is adopted by Dr. Edwin James, the learned author of Tanner's Life among the Indians, p. 357 of that work. I refer to this interesting book for the remarkable hieroglyphics of the people of the Algonquin tribe.

† Dipauch is a very distinguished man, and might have been a chief long ago if he had pleased, as he possesses all the necessary qualifications. His father was shot by the Sioux during Lewis and Clarke's winter residence among these Indians. These travellers offered to assist the Mandans against their enemies, and to take the field with them, to which, however, they would not consent.

‡ Brackenridge, p. 71, is very much mistaken in believing that the Mandans and Manitaries worship only buffalo heads, &c, if the latter are medicine, it is incontrovertibly true that they believe in a number of superior beings who make a figure in their mythology.

776 in the form of an aged man, and, at others, in that of a young man. The first man, Numank-
773 Machana, holds the second rank; he was created by the lord of life, but is likewise of a divine
nature. The lord of life gave him great power, and they, therefore, worship and offer sacrifices
776 to him. He is nearly identical with Nanabush among the Chippeways, or the people of the
Algonquin language, who, according to the notion of those tribes, acts as mediator between the
171 creator and the human race. Nanabush and the creator frequently had disputes, and the
Mandans have similar legends. Omahank-Chika, the evil one of the earth, is a malignant spirit,
776 who has, likewise, much influence over men, but who is not as powerful as the lord of life and
773 the first man. The fourth being is Rohanka-Tauihanka, who lives in the planet Venus, and it
is he who protects mankind on the earth; for without his care the race would have been long
since extinct. A fifth being, who, however, has no power, is something like the wandering Jew,
ever in motion, and walking on the face of the earth in human form. They call him the lying prairie
wolf. Besides these there is a sixth being, Ochkih-Hadda, whom it is difficult to class, and of whom
they have a tradition, that whoever dreams of him is doomed soon to die. He appears to figure
in their traditions as a kind of devil, is said to have once come to their villages, and taught them
many things, but has not since appeared. They are afraid of him, offer sacrifices to him, and
776 have in their villages a hideous figure representing him. They worship the sun, because they
believe it to be the residence of the lord of life. All their medicines or sacrifices are offered
772 chiefly to the sun, or rather to the lord of life, as inhabiting it. In the moon, say they, lives the
old woman who never dies, and who wears a white band from the front to the back of the head;
sacrifices and offerings are likewise made to her. They do not know who she is, but her power
is great. She has six children, three sons and three daughters, who all live in certain stars.
The eldest son is the day (the first day of the creation), the second is the sun, in which the lord
of life has his abode. The third son is the night. The eldest daughter is the star that rises in
the east, the morning star; and they call her, "the woman who wears a plume." The second
daughter, called "the striped gourd," is a high star which revolves around the polar star; and,
lastly, the third daughter is the evening star which is near to the setting sun.

539 The old woman in the moon desired to find a wife for her son, and brought a girl, whom
she desired to wait outside the door. When the old woman sent out to fetch her, they found in
her place a toad; indignant at the exchange, the toad was boiled in a vessel, that it might be
destroyed. But this could not be done, nor could it be eaten, and it was, therefore, cursed, on
which it remained always visible as a spot in the moon. The narrator could not say whether
[821] the sun was large or small, but, at all events, it was glowing hot. The son married a woman
whom they called "the narrow-leaved wormwood." They had a son, of great promise, who
appeared destined to act an important part. He was very skilful in making arrows, and versed
in all kinds of hunting and catching of animals. He shot birds for his mother, though she had

forbidden him to kill the prairie larks, yet he shot all his arrows at these birds, but he was 539
unable to kill any. Upon this, one of the birds said to him, "Why will you kill me, since I am related to you?" He dug up in the moon the pomme blanche (*Psoralea esculenta*), for which his mother reproved him, because, through the hole which he had dug, they could see the Manitari villages in the earth beneath. And his mother said, "See, all those men are our relations; I did not intend to descend to the earth yet, but now we must go thither." The father once ordered the son to shoot a buffalo for him, and to bring him all the sinews of the animal; but the son twisted a rope with part of those sinews, in order thereby to let himself down to the earth. Accordingly he descended to the earth in the vicinity of the Little Missouri, but his rope reached only to the top of the trees. If he had had all the sinews of the buffalo, his rope would have reached the ground, but now remained suspended, and swung backwards and forwards. A large stone was thrown at him from the moon, which stone was in existence not very long since. The stone, however, could not kill him, he being medicine, that is, charmed.

The Mandans believe that the thunder is produced by the motion of the wings of a gigantic 821
bird. When this bird flies softly, as is usually the case, he is not heard, but when he flaps his wings violently, he occasions a roaring noise. This huge bird is said to have only two toes on each foot, one behind and the other before. It lives in the mountains, where it builds an immense nest, as big as Fort Clarke. Its food consists of deer and other large animals, the horns of which are heaped up round the nest. The glance of its eyes produces lightning; it breaks through the clouds, the canopy of heaven, and makes a way for the rain. The isolated and peculiarly loud claps of thunder are produced by a gigantic tortoise, which lives in the clouds. When the lightning strikes, it is a sign of anger. They believe the stars to be deceased men. When a [775]
child is born, a star descends and appears on the earth in human form; after death it reascends and appears again as a star in the heavens.

The rainbow is a spirit accompanying the sun, and is especially visible at its setting. Many affirm that the northern lights are occasioned by a large assembly of the medicine men and distinguished warriors of several nations in the north, who boil their prisoners and slain enemies in immense cauldrons. The Chippeways are said to call this phenomenon "the dancing spirit," [171]
and the milky way, "the path of the ghosts."

Dipauch related a history of the creation and the origin of the Mandan tribe, in the fol- 773
lowing manner. Though this narrative is equally silly and tiresome, I subjoin it, as giving an 539
idea of the intellectual condition of this people, and the nature of their conversations.

Before the existence of the earth, the lord of life created the first man, Numank-Machana, who moved on the waters, and met with a diver or duck, which was alternately diving and rising again. The man said to the bird, "You dive so well, now dive deep and bring up some earth."

The bird obeyed, and soon brought up some earth, which the first man scattered upon the face of the waters, using some incantations, commanding the earth to appear, and it appeared. The land was naked; not a blade of grass was growing on it; he wandered about and thought that he was alone, when he suddenly met with a toad. "I thought I was here alone," said he, "but you are here, and who are you?" It did not answer. "I do not know you, but I must give you a name. You are older than I am, for your skin is rough and scaly; I must call you my grandmother, for you are so very old." He went further and found a piece of an earthen pot. "I thought I was here alone, but men must have lived here before me." Thereupon he took the potsherd and said, "I will give you also a name, and, as you were here before me, I must, likewise, call you my grandmother." On going further he met with a mouse: "It is clear," said he to himself, "that I am not the first being; I call you also my grandmother." A little further on he and the lord of life met. "Oh, there is a man like myself," exclaimed he, and went up to him. "How do you do, my son?" said the man to Omahank-Numakshi; but he answered, "I am not your son, but you are mine." The first man answered, "I dispute this." But the lord of life answered, "You are my son, and I will prove it; if you will not believe me, we will sit down and plant our medicine sticks which we have in our hands in the ground; he who first rises is the youngest, and the son of the other." They sat down and looked at each other for a long time, till, at length, the lord of life became pale, his flesh dropped from his bones, on which the first man exclaimed, "Now you are surely dead." Thus they looked at each other for ten years, at the end of which time, when the bare bones of the lord of life were in a decomposed state, the first man rose, exclaiming, "Now he is surely dead." He seized Omahank-Numakshi's stick, and pulled it out of the ground; but at the same moment the lord of life stood up, saying, "See here, I am your father, and you are my son," and the first man called him his father. As they were going on together, the lord of life said, "This land is not well formed, we will make it better." At that time the buffalo was already on the earth. The lord of life called to the weasel, and ordered him to dive and bring up grass, which was done. He then sent him again to fetch wood, which he brought in like manner. He divided the grass and the wood, giving one half to the first man. This took place at the mouth of Heart River. The lord of life then desired the first man to make the north bank of the Missouri, while he himself made the south-west bank, which is beautifully diversified with hills, valleys, forests, and thickets. The man, on the contrary, made the whole country flat, with a good deal of wood in the distance. They then met again, and, when the lord of life had seen the work of the first man, he shook his head and said, "You have not done this well: all is level, so that it will be impossible to surprise buffaloes or deer, and approach them unperceived. Men will not be able to live there. They will see each other in the plain at too great a distance, and will be unable to avoid each other, consequently they will destroy each other."

He then took the first man to the other side of the river, and said, "See here, I have made springs and streams in sufficient abundance, and hills and valleys, and added all kinds of animals and fine wood; here men will be able to live by the chase, and feed on the flesh of those animals." They then both proceeded to the mouth of the Natke-Passaha (Heart River), in order, according to the directions of the lord of life, to make medicine pipes. He himself made them of ash, lined with stone. The man, on the contrary, made his pipes of box-alder, a soft wood. They placed these pipes together, and the lord of life said, "This shall be the heart, the centre of the world; and this river shall be the Heart River." Each of them had now his pipe in his hand, and when they met any creature, the lord of life laid the pipe down before it: on doing this to a buffalo, it said, "This is not enough; there must be something to smoke in the pipe." And the lord of life said, "Then do you get something to smoke." On which the buffalo cleared a spot on the ground with his fore foot, and said, "When the rutting time of the buffaloes approaches, come here and you will find something to smoke." The lord of life accordingly sent at the time appointed to fetch tobacco, but it was not yet dry and prepared; he therefore ordered the buffalo to be called, which at once spread out the leaves and dried them; and the lord of life smoked, and found the tobacco very good. The bull then taught him to pull off and smoke the flowers and the buds, for these are the best parts of the plant.

The lord of life and the first man were now resolved to create the human race. They began their operations near the bank of the Missouri; and, in order to promote the increase of the species, they placed the part necessary for that purpose in the forehead; but the frog came up out of the water, and said, "How foolish you are!" and altered the situation of the part. "What business have you to speak?" said the lord of life, and struck the frog upon the back with his stick, and since that time the frog has had a humped back. God had made man, and told him he should increase and multiply, but not live longer than a hundred years; since, otherwise, there would not be room enough for all. The first man now said to his father, "When buffaloes are hunted, the skins of the animals killed must be immediately taken off to wear as robes; the stomach must be emptied, and pemmican made of the flesh." The lord of life, however, answered, "This would not be advisable. Men would then quarrel and destroy each other. Let them rather take the animals home, and tan the hides, then they will have robes for their own use, and for sale." And it appeared that the lord of life was always right.

The first man was once on the banks of the Missouri, when a dead buffalo cow, in the side of which the wolves had eaten a hole, floated down the stream. A woman was on the bank, who called to her daughter, "Make haste, pull off your clothes, and bring the cow on shore." The first man heard this, and brought the cow to the spot. The girl eat some of the flesh, which the first man gave her, and became pregnant. She was ashamed, and said to her mother, that "she could not tell how she came into this state, as she had had no intercourse with any man," and her mother was ashamed with her. The daughter was afterwards delivered of a son, who grew with extraordinary rapidity, and soon became a robust young man. He was immediately the first chief of his people—a great leader among men. The first thing he did was to build a boat, which understood whatever he said to it. He filled it with men, ordered it to cross the river and come back, and in this manner he sent it over several times. The new chief was of the nation of the Numakshi (the Mandans). A saying was then current among these people, that on the other side of the great water, or the sea, there lived white men, who possessed wampum shells. Bodies of fifteen or twenty men were frequently sent thither, but they were all killed. Hereupon the chief said, "I will send my boat thither, with eight men; this is the right number." And the boat went, arrived at the right place, and brought to the white men the red mouse hair (beaver hair), which they highly valued. They were well received, feasted in the dwellings, and materials for smoking were given them. Each received buffalo skins filled with wampum shells, and the boat returned quickly. The boat then went, for the second time, with eleven men, and the lord of life accompanied it. He had dressed himself in mean apparel, and took with him a large hollow cane. On their arrival they went into a village, but the first man remained sitting near the boat, and dug a deep hole, over which he seated himself. The inhabitants of the village agreed to kill the strangers by over-feeding them, and, with this view, gave them abundance of food. The first man, to whom the overplus of the provisions was brought, let them drop through his cane into the hole, and the white men were astonished at the quantity of provisions consumed. They then agreed to kill them by smoke; but the first man made the smoke pass through his cane, and their plan was again defeated. They now thought of killing them by means of women, all of whom they left at their disposal.* As they could not kill the strangers either by eating, smoking, or women, they gave them as many wampum shells as they could take in their boat, and sent them away. When the children learnt that the boat understood what was said to it, they ordered it to go down the river to the white people; it obeyed, and was never afterwards seen.

The first man now said to the Numangkake that he should leave them, and never return; that he was going to the west; but that, in case of need, they might apply to him, and he would assist them. They were living in a small village, on Heart River, when their enemies surrounded them, and threatened to destroy them. In this great distress they resolved to apply to their protector; but how were they to get to the first man? One man proposed to send a bird to him; but birds could not fly so far. Another thought that the eyesight must be able to reach him; but the prairie hills were in the way. At last, a third said that thought would undoubtedly be the best means of reaching the first man. He wrapped himself in his robe and fell to the ground. Soon afterwards he said, "I think!—I have thought!—I return!" He threw off his robe, and was in a profuse perspiration all over. "The first man will quickly come," he exclaimed; and he was soon there, fell furiously on the enemy, drove them away, and immediately vanished. Since that time he has not been again seen.

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* Numank-Machana autem, partis naturalis loco cauda vacuus non erat: itaque laci, valde stupefacti prostratae et mulieres primi hominis vires admirarunt.

The lord of life once told the first man, that if the Numangkake should go over the river they would be devoured by the wolves; on which they both crossed the river, and killed all the old wolves. They ordered the young wolves not to devour men in future, but to confine themselves to buffaloes, deer, and other wild animals. They threw the old wolves into the north ocean, where they became putrid, and their hair swam on the surface of the water, from which the white men originated. The lord of life also told the Numangkake, that when they had boiled their maize they should keep up only a small fire for the rest of the day; and this they still do. When the fire would not burn, they were to take the larger brands from below, and lay them on the top. When the lord of life was a little below Heart River, in the spring, when the first wild geese flew past, he told them to wait, because he would fly with them, and assumed the form of a goose. The Indians are accustomed to shout and halloo when the see the flocks of geese, by which they are frightened, and thrown into confusion. So it happened on this occasion to the lord of life, and he fell to the ground. He was carried into the hut of the chief, who sent the youngest woman to pluck the goose, but it bit her, and she gave it to the oldest, who was likewise bitten; so that the lord of life escaped. He then flew to the Manitaries. A young woman, who refused to marry, was here whipped and beaten by him. She went to the lower village, and complained that God had punished her, because she would not marry. A young man, who wished to have her for his wife, took the dress of the lord of life, as she was resolved to marry none but him. She now desired to know whether her lover was really what he pretended to be, and with this view placed some pointed stakes in the ground, on which he must wound himself in the night, if he were not of a superior nature. He came and wounded himself, on which she fell on him, took away all his clothes and hid them, so that he looked for a long time both for them and his weapons. When day came, two long lines, like fishing lines, were hanging down from the sun to the earth, and near to the place where the girl was. A voice called to her, from above, to climb up by the lines; that the clothes were no longer in the place where she had hidden them; it was, therefore, the lord of life who had appeared to her under the form of the young man. The girl took hold of the lines, and the sun seemed to come down. Several of her relations, and other men, pulled the lines, but could not draw the sun down, while the lord of life lay quietly in it. A very strong man, who was able to pull up the largest trees by the roots, and cast them from him, was not able to do anything on this occasion; the line turned round his shoulders. "I can pull up the largest trees," said he, "and my strength is greater than that of all other men united, and yet I cannot break this small line." To which the lord of life answered, "If you reach and kill me, the human race will be destroyed from the face of the earth."

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At the time that the first man had incensed the Whites by his voracity, the latter made the water rise so high that all the land was overflowed. On this, the first man advised the ancestors of the Numangkake to build a wooden tower, or fort, upon an eminence, assuring them that the water would not rise higher than that point. They followed his advice, and built the ark, on the lower side of Heart River, on a large scale, and a part of the nation was preserved in this building, while the remainder perished in the waves. In remembrance of the kind care of the first man, they placed in each of their villages a miniature model of this ark, one of which still exists in the village of Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush. The waters afterwards subsided, and they still celebrate the festival of Okippe in honour of this ark, of which we shall have to speak in the sequel.

Before the first great deluge, the Numangkake lived below ground, but a band of them (the same of which we have been speaking) took up their abode above ground at an earlier period. They believe that there are four stories below ground, and as many above, and they now inhabit the fourth from below. The band which first came above ground is called by them Histoppa (those with the tattooed countenance), and these, for the most part, perished in the great deluge. Those who lived under ground one day perceived a light over their heads, which made them desire to ascertain what was above. They accordingly sent up a mouse, which looked about, returned, and reported that the land above was similar to that which they inhabited. They then sent up a certain animal, called by them, Nahsi, about the size of a polecat, and distinguishable by black stripes on its face and legs. Perhaps this was the racoon, which is not now to be found in this part of the country. This animal, when he came back, said that it was much more pleasant above than below. They, therefore, ordered the badger to dig a larger opening, as the present issue was too small. After the badger had performed his task, the black-tailed deer was ordered to go up and enlarge the opening by means of his horns. He ran about the whole day, ate service berries, and returned in the evening. His tail was at that time white, but as this deer returned at sunset, and the sun went down at the very moment when his tail only was above ground, that was ever afterwards black.

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The Numangkake now resolved to go up. The great chief, with his medicine and his schischikué in his hand, went first. They climbed up, one after another, by the aid of a branch of a vine; and when exactly half their number had ascended, and a corpulent woman was half-way up the vine, it broke, and the remainder of the nation fell to the ground. This happened in the neighbourhood of the sea-shore. Those who had reached the surface went on till they came to the Missouri, which they reached at White Earth River. They then proceeded up the Missouri to Moreau's River. At that time they knew nothing of enemies. Once, when a Mandan woman was scraping a hide, a Chayenne Indian came and killed her. The Mandans followed the traces of this new enemy till they came to a certain river, where they all turned

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back with the exception of two, the husband and the brother of the woman who was killed. These two men went on till they discovered the enemy, killed one of them, and took his scalp with them. Before they got back to their village they found some white clay which they had never seen before, and took a portion of it with them. When they came to their great chief, the first who had climbed up the vine, and whose skull and schischikué they still preserve, as a relic, in the medicine bag of the nation, they gave him the white clay, with which he marked some lines on his schischikué. The name of this chief was, at first, Mihti-Pihka (the smoke of the village), but when he ascended to the surface of the earth he called himself the Mihti-Shi (the robe with the beautiful hair). When he had received the clay and the scalp, he commanded all his people to shoot buffaloes, but only bulls, and to make shields of the thickest part of the hide, which they did. When this was done, they asked the chief what were his next commands? To which he replied, "Paint a drooping sunflower on this shield" (as a sort of medicine, or amulet), on which the sister of the chief said, "You are fools! paint a bean on it; for what is smoother than a bean to ward off the arrows!"

The chief now introduced the establishment of the bands or unions, and founded first that of "the foolish dogs." He made four caps of crow's feathers, and commissioned the Mandans to make a number of similar ones. He then gave them the war pipe and song, and exhorted them to be always valiant and cheerful, and never to retreat before the point of the arrow. He also gave them the strips of red cloth which hang down behind, and added that, if they would follow his directions, they would always be esteemed as brave and worthy men. The chief then made two of the bent sticks covered with otter skins, and gave them the kana-karakachka, and then two others adorned with raven's feathers, which he also presented to them. The first represent the sunflower, and the latter the maize. "These badges," said he, "you are to carry before you when you go against the enemy; plant them in the ground, and fight to the last man, that is to say, never abandon them." He next founded the band of "the little foolish dogs," and assembled many young men, whom he ordered to paint their faces of a black colour, and gave them a song of their own, with the war whoop at the end, and said he would call them "the blackbirds." He afterwards went to war with his people against the Chayennes. They reached the enemy and laid all their robes in a heap together. The chief wore a cap of lynx skin, and had his medicine pipe on his arm. He did not join in the action, but sat apart on the ground during the whole time that it lasted. They fought almost the whole day, drove the enemy into their village, and were then repulsed, which happened three or four times, and one of the Numangkake was killed. When the chief was informed of this, he ordered them to go to the river and bring him a young poplar with large leaves, which he planted in the ground near to the enemy, and challenged the Chayennes to attack him; but they answered, they would wait for his attack. As

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he would commence the combat, the enemy shot at him, but their arrows only grazed his arm and robe. He then held up the poplar, which suddenly shot up to a colossal size, was thrown, by a violent storm which arose, among the enemies, crushed many of them, and obliged the Chayennes to retreat across the Missouri.

The Numangkake now went up the Missouri to beyond the Heart River, where a Mandan village had long stood. An old man of their tribe was fishing at this place, when four men appeared on the opposite bank. On his inquiring who they were, they told him their names, and put the same question to him, which he answered; and, having an ear of maize with him, he fastened it to an arrow, and shot it over to the strangers. Finding the maize very agreeable to the taste, they called to him and said that, within four nights, a great many men would come, for whom he would do well to prepare plenty of food. They then returned to their camp, and gave their countrymen an account of the maize. They had likewise tasted the pomme blanche, and several other vegetables, but considered the maize as the best of all. The camp was accordingly broken up, and they proceeded slowly onwards. The Numangkake expected the strangers for four nights; they cooked and made everything ready for their reception, but, as their visitors did not make their appearance at the end of the fourth night, they ate the provisions themselves. A year passed by, and the strangers did not come; the second and the third year likewise; at length, in the spring of the fourth year, all the surrounding hills were covered with red men. Thus, instead of four days, four years had elapsed. The new comers crossed the river, and built a village near the Numangkake, and the name of Manitaries was given, *i. e.*, those who came over the waters.

The principal chief of each nation met, and had a conference together. The Manitari chief asked the other whence they procured so much red maize? To which he replied, "When we fought with our enemies, and they killed our wives and children in the maize fields, the maize grew up, and was for the most part red." To which the Manitari chief replied, "that he would assist them with his people against their enemies." Already on the following day many Chayennes came and killed a number of women in the plantations; the united nations attacked them, killed many during the whole day, and drove them back to a small river which falls into the Missouri. The two allied nations now remained united, but, being so numerous that the country did not afford them sufficient subsistence, the Mandans said to the Manitaries, "Remove higher up the Missouri: this whole country belongs to us. There are the rivers Little Missouri, Yellow Stone, and Knife River, on the banks of which you can settle, but do not go beyond the latter river, for it is only in this case that we shall remain good friends. If you go too far we shall have disputes, make peace and again disagree; but if you remain on this side there will be constant friendship between us." The Manitaries removed as proposed, but built

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one of their villages on the other side of Knife River, which frequently occasioned dissension between them, and it is only within these fourteen years that permanent peace and concord have existed between the two people. 534 173

At the time when our narrator was a young man, the Arikkaras were near and dangerous enemies to the Mandans. They often fought with them as well as with the Sioux. When one of the two allied nations fought alone, it was almost always defeated, but when they were combined they generally triumphed. The preceding long narrative throws, as I have said, much light on the actual condition of this people, and of their prevalent superstitious customs. 173 721

At the time of their first alliance with the Manitaries, the Mandans are said to have inhabited eight or nine villages on the two banks of the Missouri, on the Heart River, and higher upwards. Subsequently a great number of the Mandans were carried off by the small-pox, and their enemies, the Sioux, entirely destroyed their largest village, and massacred the inhabitants. The remaining population then collected in the two villages that still exist—Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush and Ruhptare. Plate XVI. is a view of Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, of which a ground plan will be found at the end of this chapter. Previously to the devastations of the small-pox, the Sioux were not very dangerous enemies to the Mandans, because they lived at too great a distance from them, but the Chayennes and the Arikkaras were their natural adversaries. I shall now proceed to treat of the religious and superstitious practices which still prevail among them.

These Indians are full of prejudice and superstition, and connect all the natural phenomena with the before-mentioned silly-creations of their own imaginations. They undertake nothing without first invoking their guardian spirit, or medicine, who mostly appears to them in a dream. When they wish to choose their medicine or guardian spirit, they fast for three or four days, and even longer, retire to a solitary spot, do penance, and even sacrifice joints of their fingers; howl and cry to the lord of life, or to the first man, beseeching him to point out their guardian spirit. They continue in this excited state till they dream, and the first animal or other object which appears to them is chosen for their guardian spirit or medicine. Every man has his guardian spirit. There is, in the prairie, a large hill where they remain motionless many days, lamenting and fasting; not far from this hill is a cave, into which they creep at night. The choice and adoration of their medicine are said to have been taught them by the strange man or spirit who appeared in their villages many years ago, and has not since been seen, and of whom mention has already been made by the name of Ochkih-Hadda. He is said also to have taught them the art of tattooing, and to have instituted their medicine feasts. In all natural phenomena, which are not of daily occurrence, they see wonders, and indications of favourable or unfavourable events. If the falling stars are numerous, or in a certain direction, it is to them an indication of war, or of a great mortality in the human race. They were not willing to have their portraits painted, because they alleged that they should soon die if their portraits came into other hands; 771 776 782 774

at least they endeavoured to obtain the portrait of the painter as an antidote.

796 785 304 during the whole life, like thick swollen weals. This is to be observed in a much higher degree among the Manitaries than among the Mandans; the former seem to submit to much more severe tortures. The buffalo skulls, which these Indians have dragged about with much pain, are preserved in their huts, where they are everywhere to be seen, to be handed down from the father to the children. Many such heads are looked upon by them as medicine; they are kept in the huts, and sometimes the Indians stroke them over the nose, and set food before them. In general, the buffalo is a medicine animal, and more or less sacred.

796 837 Another very remarkable medicine festival is that for attracting the herds of buffaloes, which is usually celebrated in the autumn, or winter. I shall describe this festival, as an eye-witness among the Manitaries, where it is observed precisely in the same manner as among the Mandans. At this festival they leave their wives to the older men, and individual Indians do the same on certain occasions, when they desire to ask good wishes for the attainment of some object they have in view. A man, in such a case, goes, with his pipe, and accompanied by his wife, who wears no clothes except her buffalo robe, to another hut. The wife carries a dish of boiled maize, which she sets down before a third person, and the man does the same with his pipe. The woman then passes the palm of her hand down the whole arm of the person favoured in this manner, takes him by the hand, and he must follow her to a retired spot, generally to the forest surrounding the huts in the winter time; after which she returns and repeats the same process, often with eight or ten men. As soon as the man so favoured has resumed his seat, the person who asks his good wishes presents his pipe to him that he may smoke; whereupon he expresses his best wishes for the success of the undertaking or project in hand. By way of returning thanks, his arm is again stroked.

796 773 A third medicine feast is that described by Say, by the name of the corn dance of the Manitaries. He is pretty correct in his account of it, and it is used as well among the Mandans as the Manitaries. It is a consecration of the grain to be sown, and is called the corn dance feast of the women. The old woman who never dies sends, in the spring, the water-fowl, swans, geese, and ducks, as symbols of the kinds of grain cultivated by the Indians. The wild goose signifies maize; the swan, the gourd; and the duck, beans. It is the old woman that causes these plants to grow, and, therefore, she sends these birds as her signs and representatives. It is very seldom that eleven wild geese are found together in the spring; but, if it happens, this is a sign that the crop of maize will be remarkably fine. The Indians keep a large quantity of dried flesh in readiness for the time in the spring when the birds arrive, that they may immediately celebrate the corn feast of the women. They hang the meat, before the village, on long stages made of poles, three or four rows, one above another, and this, with various articles of value, is considered as an offering to the old woman. The elderly females, as representatives of the old woman who never dies, assemble on a certain day about the stages, carrying a stick in their hands, to one

end of which a head of maize is fastened. Sitting down in a circle, they plant their sticks in the ground before them, and then dance round the stages. Some old men beat the drum, and rattle the schischikué. The maize is not wetted or sprinkled, as many believe, but, on the contrary, it is supposed that such a practice would be injurious. While the old women are performing these ceremonies, the younger ones come and put some dry pulverized meat into their mouths, for which each of them receives, in return, a grain of the consecrated maize, which she eats. Three or four grains are put into their dish, and are afterwards carefully mixed with the seed to be sown, in order to make it thrive and yield an abundant crop. The dried flesh on the stages is the perquisite of the aged females, as the representatives of the old woman who never dies. During the ceremony, it is not unusual for some men of the band of dogs to come and pull a large piece of flesh from the poles, and carry it off. As members of this band, and being men of distinction, no opposition can be offered.

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A similar corn feast is repeated in the autumn, but at that season it is held for the purpose of attracting the herds of buffaloes, and of obtaining a large supply of meat. Each woman then has not a stick with a head of maize, as in the former instance, but a whole plant of that grain, pulled up by the roots. They designate the maize as well as the birds, which are the symbols of the fruits of the earth, by the name of the old woman who never dies, and call upon them in the autumn, saying—"Mother, have pity on us; do not send the severe cold too soon, so that we may have a sufficient supply of meat; do not permit all the game to go away, so that we may have something for the winter."

In autumn, when the birds emigrate to the south, or, as the Indians express it, return to the old woman, they believe that they take with them the presents—especially the dried flesh—that were hung up at the entrance of the village, for the giver and protectress of the crop. They further imagine that the old woman partakes of the flesh. Some poor females among these Indians, who are not able to offer flesh or any valuable gift, take a piece of parchment, in which they wrap the foot of a buffalo, and suspend it to one of the poles as their offering. The birds on their return, go to the old woman, each bringing something from the Indians; but, towards the end, one approaches, and says—"I have very little to give you, for I have received only a very mean gift." To this, the old woman, on receiving the buffalo's foot from the poor women, or widows, says—"This is just what I love; this poor offering is more dear to me than all the other presents, however costly." Upon this she boils a piece of the foot with some maize, and eats it with much satisfaction.

The old woman who never dies has very extensive plantations of maize, the keepers of which are the great stag and the white-tailed stag. She has, likewise, many blackbirds, which help to guard her property. When she intends to feed these keepers, she summons them, and they fall with avidity upon the maize fields. As these plantations are very large, she requires many 773

773 labourers, and the mouse, the mole, and the before-mentioned stags, perform the work. The birds,
which fly from the sea-shore in the spring, represent the old woman, who then travels to the
north to visit "the old man who never dies," and who always resides in that quarter. She does
not, however, stop there long, but generally returns in three or four days. In former times, the
old woman's hut was near the little Missouri, where the Indians often went to visit her. One day,
twelve Manitaries came to her, and she set before them a pot of maize, which was so small, that
it was not sufficient to satisfy even one; but she invited them to eat, and, as soon as the pot was
empty, it was instantly refilled, and all the twelve men had enough. This occurred several
times while the old woman resided in that spot.

773 Serpents, especially the rattlesnakes, are in a greater or less degree "medicine" for these
people, who kill them, and cut off the rattles, which they regard as an effectual remedy in many
755 diseases. They chew one of the joints, and wet various parts of the body of the patient with
[825] the saliva. They likewise believe in the existence of a colossal medicine serpent, which lives in
778 a lake three or four days' journey from this place, and to which they make offerings. The
following is their tradition of this monster:—Two young men were strolling along the bank of
the river, and observed a cavern, through which curiosity led them to go. On reaching the
further end, they were surprised at beholding a picturesque country, wholly unknown to them,
where numerous herds of buffaloes were grazing. Suddenly, however, an immense giant stood
before them, who demanded—"Who are you, you little people? I am afraid, if I were to lay
hold of you, I should crush you!" He then lifted them in his hands very carefully, and
carried them into the village, which was inhabited by giants like himself. Accompanied by the
two Mandans, they went out to hunt buffaloes. The giants killed the buffaloes by throwing
stones, but the Mandans destroyed many with their arrows, which greatly delighted the giants.
At that time the giants were at war with the eagles, which were very numerous, and which
they slew by flinging stones. The Mandans, however, shot them with arrows, so that they
speedily procured a large quantity of eagles' feathers. They then took leave of the giants, and
were permitted to depart with all their valuable feathers. On their return they found the cave
blocked up by a colossal serpent. At first they were at a loss how to make a passage, but
they soon collected a large pile of wood and burnt the monster. One of them tasted the roasted
flesh of the serpent, and, finding it palatable, partook of more. They proceeded on their way, when
the head of the Mandan who had tasted the serpent's flesh began to swell prodigiously, and an
intolerable itching came over his face. He begged his friend not to leave him, but to take him home.
On the second day he continued to swell, increased in length, felt an irritation all over, and
773 was soon afterwards transformed into a serpent, upon which he begged his companion to take
him to the Missouri, which the latter accomplished in three days. As soon as the serpent reached
778 the water, he dived, but speedily rose to the surface, and said, "There are many like me below, but

they hate me, therefore carry me to the long water, three days' journey from the Missouri." This, 773
too, was done, but the serpent not liking his new abode, his comrade was obliged to carry him to a 778
second lake, called Histoppa-Numangka (the place of the tattooed countenance), when the serpent was satisfied, and resolved to remain. He commissioned the young man to bring him four things, viz. a white wolf, a polecat, some pounded maize, and eagles' tails: after this he was to go to war four times, and kill an enemy in each combat. All this accordingly took place. The serpent then added that he would always remain in this lake, never die, be medicine, and, when the Mandans desired anything, they might come hither, do penance, or make offerings, that is to say, hang robes, eagles' tails, and other articles of value, on poles on the banks of the lake, which the Indians sometimes do even to this day.

Another curiosity of a similar nature is the Medicine Stone, which is mentioned by Lewis 787
and Clarke, and which the Manitaries likewise reverence. This stone is between two and three 778
days' journey from the villages on Cannon-ball River, and about 100 paces from its banks. I was assured that it was on a tolerably high hill, and in the form of a flat slab, probably of sandstone. The stone is described as being marked with impressions of the footsteps of men, and animals of various descriptions, also of sledges with dogs. The Indians use this stone as an oracle, and make offerings of value to it, such as kettles, blankets, cloth, guns, knives, hatchets, medicine pipes, &c., which are found deposited close to it. The war parties of both nations, when they take the field, generally go to this place, and consult the oracle as to the issue of their enterprise. Lamenting and howling, they approach the hill, smoke their medicine pipes, and pass the night near the spot. On the following morning they copy the figures on the stone upon a piece of parchment or skin, which they take to the village, where the old men give the interpretations. New figures are undoubtedly drawn from time to time on this stone, near to which the celebrated ark, in which part of the nation was saved in the great deluge, formerly stood.

The Mandans have many other medicine establishments in the vicinity of their villages, 778
all of which are dedicated to the superior powers. Mr. Bodmer has made very accurate drawings 782
of those near Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, one of which consists of four poles placed in the form of a square; the two foremost have a heap of earth and green turf thrown up round them, and four buffalo skulls laid in a line between them, while twenty-six human skulls are placed in a row from one of the stakes at the back to the other; some of these skulls are painted with a red stripe. Behind the whole a couple of knives are stuck into the ground, and a bundle of twigs is fastened at the top of the poles with a kind of comb, or the teeth of a rake, painted red (Vignette XIV). The Indians repair to such places when they desire to make offerings or put up petitions; they howl, lament, and make loud entreaties, often for many days together, to the lord of life, which the French Canadians call weeping, though no tears are shed. A similar medicine establishment is represented in Plate XXV., where a couple of human figures, very clumsily made of skins,

788 ingly grotesque and amusing, and that part of them which has a relation to the Deluge is harmless and full of interest.

361 In the centre of the Mandan village is an open, circular area of 150 feet diameter, kept always clear, as a public ground, for the display of all their public feasts, parades, &c. and around it are their wigwams placed as near to each other as they can well stand, their doors facing the centre of this public area.

778 796 In the middle of this ground, which is trodden like a hard pavement, is a curb (somewhat like a large hogshead standing on its end) made of planks (and bound with hoops), some eight or nine feet high, which they religiously preserve and protect from year to year, free from mark or scratch, and which they call the "big canoe"—it is undoubtedly a symbolic representation of a part of their traditional history of the Flood; which it is very evident, from this and numerous other features of this grand ceremony, they have in some way or other received, and are here endeavouring to perpetuate by vividly impressing it on the minds of the whole nation. This object of superstition, from its position, as the very centre of the village is the rallying point of the whole nation. To it their devotions are paid on various occasions of feasts and religious exercises during the year; and in this extraordinary scene it was often the nucleus of their mysteries and cruelties, as I shall shortly describe them, and becomes an object worth bearing in mind, and worthy of being understood.

796 805 773 This exciting and appalling scene, then, which is familiarly (and no doubt correctly) called the "Mandan religious ceremony," commences, not on a particular day of the year, (for these people keep no record of days or weeks), but at a particular season, which is designated by the full expansion of the willow leaves under the bank of the river; for according to their tradition, "the twig that the bird brought home was a willow bough, and had full-grown leaves on it," and the bird to which they allude, is the mourning or turtle-dove, which they took great pains to point out to me, as it is often to be seen feeding on the sides of their earth-covered lodges, and which, being, as they call it, a *medicine-bird*, is not to be destroyed or harmed by any one, and even their dogs are instructed not to do it injury.

796 On the morning on which this strange transaction commenced, I was sitting at breakfast in the house of the Trader, Mr. Kipp, when at sun-rise, we were suddenly startled by the shrieking and screaming of the women, and barking and howling of dogs, as if an enemy were actually storming their village.

"Now we have it!" (exclaimed *mine host*, as he sprang from the table,) the grand ceremony has commenced!—drop your knife and fork, Monsr. and get your sketch-book as soon as possible, that you may lose nothing, for the very moment of *commencing* is as curious as anything else of this strange affair." I seized my sketch-book, and all hands of us were in an instant in front of the medicine-lodge, ready to see and to hear all that was to take place. Groups of women and children were gathered on the tops of

The reader will forgive me for here inserting the Certificates which I have just received from Mr Kipp, of the city of New York, and two others, who were with me; which I offer for the satisfaction of the world, who read the above account. 000

"*We hereby certify, that we witnessed, in company with Mr. Catlin, in the Mandan Village, the ceremonies represented in the four paintings, and described in his Notes, to which this Certificate refers; and that he has therein faithfully represented those scenes as we saw them transacted, without any addition or exaggeration.*

"J. KIPP, *Agent Amer. Fur Company.*
L. CRAWFORD, *Clerk.*
"*Mandan Village, July* 20, 1833. ABRAHAM BOGARD."

The strange country that I am in—its excitements—its accidents and wild incidents which startle me at almost every moment, prevent me from any very elaborate disquisition upon the above remarkable events at present; and even had I all the time and leisure of a country gentleman, and all the additional information which I am daily procuring, and daily expect to procure hereafter in explanation of these unaccountable mysteries, yet do I fear that there would be that inexplicable difficulty that hangs-over most of the customs and traditions of these simple people, who have no history to save facts and systems from falling into the most absurd and disjointed fable and ignorant fiction.

What few plausible inferences I have as yet been able to draw from the above strange and peculiar transactions I will set forth, but with some diffidence, hoping and trusting that by further intimacy and familiarity with these people I may yet arrive at more satisfactory and important results.

That these people should have a tradition of the Flood is by no means surprising; as I have learned from every tribe I have visited, that they all have some high mountain in their vicinity, where they insist upon it the big canoe landed; but that these people should hold an annual celebration of the event, and the season of that decided by such circumstances as the full leaf of the willow, and the medicine-lodge opened by such a man as Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (who appears to be a white man), and making his appearance "from the high-mountains in the West;" and some other circumstances, is surely a very remarkable thing, and requires some extraordinary attention. 113●

This Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (first or only man) is undoubtedly some mystery or medicine-man of the tribe, who has gone out on the prairie on the evening previous, and having dressed and painted himself for the occasion, comes into the village in the morning, endeavouring to keep up the semblance of reality; for their tradition says, that at a very ancient period such a man did actually come from the West—that his body was of the white colour, as

[See pp. 159-61, cat. 116 — Analyst]

173 this man's body is represented—that he wore a robe of four white wolf skins—his head-dress was made of two raven's skins—and in his left hand was a huge pipe. He said, "he was at one time the only man—he told them of the destruction of every thing on the earth's surface by water—that he stopped in his *big canoe* on a high mountain in the West, where he landed and was saved."

"That the Mandans, and all other people were bound to make yearly sacrifices of some edged-tools to the water, for of such things the big canoe was made. That he instructed the Mandans how to build their medicine-lodge, and taught them also the forms of these annual ceremonies; and told them that as long as they made these sacrifices, and performed their rites to the full letter, they might be assured of the fact, that they would be the favourite people of the Almighty, and would always have enough to eat and drink; and that so soon as they should depart in one tittle from these forms, they might be assured, that their race would decrease, and finally run out; and that they might date their nation's calamity to that omission or neglect."

These people have, no doubt, been long living under the dread of such an injunction, and in the fear of departing from it; and while they are living in total ignorance of its origin, the world must remain equally ignorant of much of its meaning, as they needs must be of all Indian customs resting on ancient traditions, which soon run into fables, having lost all their system, by which they might have been construed.

[170] This strange and unaccountable custom, is undoubtedly peculiar to the Mandans; although, amongst the Minatarees, and some others of the neighbouring tribes, they have seasons of abstinence and self-torture, somewhat similar, but bearing no other resemblance to this than a mere feeble effort or form of imitation.

It would seem from their tradition of the willow branch, and the dove, that these people must have had some proximity to some part of the civilized world; or that missionaries or others have been formerly among them, inculcating the Christian religion and the Mosaic account of the Flood; which is, in this and some other respects, decidedly different from the theory which most natural people have distinctly established of that event.

There are other strong, and almost decisive proofs in my opinion, in support of the assertion, which are to be drawn from the diversity of colour in their hair and complexions, as I have before described, as well as from their tradition just related, of the "*first or only man*," whose body was white, and who came from the West, telling them of the destruction of the earth by water, and instructing them in the forms of these mysteries; and, in addition to the above, I will add the two following very curious stories, which I had from several of their old and dignified chiefs, and which are, no doubt, standing and credited traditions of the tribe.

"The Mandans (people of the pheasants) were the first people created in the world, and they originally lived inside of the earth; they raised many vines, and one of them had grown up through a hole in the earth, over head, and one of their young men climbed up it until he came out on the top of the ground, on the bank of the river, where the Mandan village stands. He looked around, and admired the beautiful country and prairies about him—saw many buffaloes—killed one with his bow and arrows, and found that its meat was good to eat. He returned, and related what he had seen; when a number of others went up the vine with him, and witnessed the same things. Amongst those who went up, were two very pretty young women, who were favourites of the chiefs, because they were virgins; and amongst those who were trying to get up, was a very large and fat woman, who was ordered by the chiefs not to go up, but whose curiosity led her to try it as soon as she got a secret opportunity, when there was no one present. When she got part of the way up, the vine broke under the great weight of her body, and let her down. She was very much hurt by the fall, but did not die. The Mandans were very sorry about this; and she was disgraced for being the cause of a very great calamity, which she had brought upon them, and which could never be averted; for no more could ever ascend, nor could those descend who had got up; but they built the Mandan village, where it formerly stood, a great ways below on the river; and the remainder of the people live under ground to this day." 773

The above tradition is told with great gravity by their chiefs and doctors or mystery-men; and the latter profess to hear their friends talk through the earth at certain times and places, and even consult them for their opinions and advice on many important occasions.

The next tradition runs thus:—

"At a very ancient period, O-kee-hee-de (the Evil Spirit, the black fellow mentioned in the religious ceremonies) came to the Mandan village with Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (the first or only man) from the West, and sat down by a woman who had but one eye, and was hoeing corn. Her daughter, who was very pretty came up to her, and the Evil Spirit desired her to go and bring some water; but wished that before she started, she would come to him and eat some buffalo meat. He told her to take a piece out of his side, which she did and ate it, which proved to be buffalo-fat. She then went for the water, which she brought, and met them in the village where they had walked, and they both drank of it—nothing more was done.

"The friends of the girl soon after endeavoured to disgrace her, by telling her that she was *enciente*, which she did not deny. She declared her innocence at the same time, and boldly defied any man in the village to come forward and accuse her. This raised a great excitement in the village, and as no one could stand forth to accuse her, she was looked upon as *great medicine*. She soon after went off secretly to the upper Mandan village, where the child was born.

"Great search was made for her before she was found; as it was expected

773 that the child would also be great *medicine* or mystery, and of great importance to the existence and welfare of the tribe. They were induced to this belief from the very strange manner of its conception and birth, and were soon confirmed in it from the wonderful things which it did at an early age. They say, that amongst other miracles which he performed, when the Mandans were like to starve, he gave them four buffalo bulls, which filled the whole village—leaving as much meat as there was before they had eaten; saying that these four bulls would supply them for ever. Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (the first or only man) was bent on the destruction of the child, and after making many fruitless searches for it, found it hidden in a dark place, and put it to death by throwing it into the river.

"When O-kee-hee-de (the Evil Spirit) heard of the death of this child, he sought for Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah with intent to kill him. He traced him a long distance, and at length found him at *Heart River*, about seventy miles below the village, with the big medicine-pipe in his hand, the charm or mystery of which protects him from all of his enemies. They soon agreed, however, to become friends, smoked the big pipe together, and returned to the Mandan village. The Evil Spirit was satisfied; and Nu-mohk-muck-a-na told the Mandans never to pass Heart River to live, for it was the centre of the world, and to live beyond it would be destruction to them ~~; and~~ he named it *Nat-com-pa-sa-hah* (heart or centre of the world)."

Such are a few of the principal traditions of these people, which I have thought proper to give in this place, and I have given them in their own way, with all the imperfections and absurd inconsistencies which should be expected to characterize the history of all ignorant and superstitious people who live in a state of simple and untaught nature, with no other means of perpetuating historical events, than by oral traditions.

I advance these vague stories then, as I have done, and shall do in other instances, not in support of any theory, but merely as I have heard them related by the Indians; and preserved them, as I have everything else that I could meet in the Indian habits and character, for the information of the world, who may get more time to theorize than I have at present; and who may consider better than I can, how far such traditions should be taken as evidence of the facts, that these people have for a long period preserved and perpetuated an imperfect knowledge of the Deluge—of the appearance and death of a Saviour—and of the transgressions of mother Eve.

I am not yet able to learn from these people whether they have any distinct theory of the creation; as they seem to date nothing further back than their own existence as a people; saying (as I have before mentioned), that they were the first people created; involving the glaring absurdities that they were the only people on earth before the Flood, and the only one saved was a white man; or that they were created inside of the earth, as their tradition says; and that they did not make their appearance on its

773 outer surface until after the Deluge. When an Indian story is told, it is like all other gifts, "to be taken for what it is worth," and for any seeming inconsistency in their traditions there is no remedy; for as far as I have tried to reconcile them by reasoning with, or questioning them, I have been entirely defeated; and more than that, have generally incurred their distrust and ill-will. One of the Mandan doctors told me very gravely a few days since, that the earth was a large tortoise, that it carried the dirt on its back—that a tribe of people, who are now dead, and whose faces were white, used to dig down very deep in this ground to catch *badgers;* and that one day they stuck a knife through the tortoise-shell, and it sunk down so that the water ran over its back, and drowned all but one man. And on the next day while I was painting his portrait, he told me there were *four tortoises,*—one in the North—one in the East—one in the South, and one in the West; that each one of these rained ten days, and the water covered over the earth.

These ignorant and conflicting accounts, and both from the same man, give as good a demonstration, perhaps, of what I have above mentioned, as to the inefficiency of Indian traditions as anything I could at present mention. They might, perhaps, have been in this instance however the creeds of different sects, or of different priests amongst them, who often advance diametrically opposite theories and traditions relative to history and mythology.

And however ignorant and ridiculous they may seem, they are yet worthy of a little further consideration, as relating to a number of curious circumstances connected with the unaccountable religious ceremonies which I have just described

782 788 The Mandan chiefs and doctors, in all their feasts, where the pipe is lit and about to be passed around, deliberately propitiate the good-will and favour of the Great Spirit, by extending the stem of the pipe *upwards* before they smoke it themselves; and also as deliberately and as strictly offering the stem to the four *cardinal points* in succession, and then drawing a whiff through it, passing it around amongst the group.

796 801 The *annual religious ceremony* invariably lasts *four* days, and the other following circumstances attending these strange forms, and seeming to have some allusion to the *four* cardinal points, or the "four tortoises," seem to me to be worthy of further notice. *Four* men are selected by Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (as I have before said), to cleanse out and prepare the medicine-lodge for the occasion—one he calls from the *north* part of the village—one from the *east*—one from the *south*, and one from the *west*. The *four* sacks of water, in form of large tortoises, resting on the floor of the lodge and before described, would seem to be typical of the same thing; and also the *four* buffalo, and the *four* human skulls resting on the floor of the same lodge—the *four* couples of dancers in the "bull-dance," as before described; and also the *four* intervening dancers in the same dance, and also described.